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# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

**A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF  
SOCIAL WORK**

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THE FACULTY OF THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL  
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# Science and Social Service

C. RAMALINGA REDDY

Answering the popular prejudice that there is antagonism between Religion and Science Sir C. R. Reddy in the following Fifth Convocation Address to the graduates of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences points out that while Religion inspires social service, Science makes it more intelligent, efficient and fruitful. He rightly observes, "The hindrances in India to organised social services are many and peculiar. Sporadic charity is widely felt to be religious obligation . . . . Organisation is mistaken for mechanisation . . . . But there is no inherent contradiction between sciences and services. Both can work together in friendly rivalry. We want both : head as well as heart."

Sir C. R. Reddy is the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University.

**T**HE paths of Sciences and of Services longings spring.

have been mistakenly viewed to be divergent. The reason is obvious ; missions (using them in the largest sense) resting on sentiment, generous impulse and spiritual incentives, sometimes lack scientific outlook and organization, or, are tied to dogmas not always acceptable to reason. On the other hand, sciences and applied sciences as well as organisations formed on their prescriptions may lack warmth of feeling and fiery humanitarian fervour. But there is no inherent contradiction between Sciences and Services. Both can work together in friendly rivalry. We want both : head as well as heart.

Products of such pioneer Institutions, as the Tata Institute, have to act the lead, the precedents and traditions. There are some who may decry a worker's services because he receives a salary, as though self-sacrifice is the only form of humanitarianism. Stability and potentiality of progress go with business organization. The ascetic ideal is a partial ideal ; higher is the fulfilment of personality in all its richness which comes out of the correlation between the individual and society, where the individual serves society and society the individual.

Both Science and Religion can, in their several ways, light up to some extent the valley of the shadow of death, and distress worse than death, in which the lot of man is cast. With the march of intellect, rationalism reduces the field of irrationalism—but there will always be a surd—the dark depth from which our mystic moods and spiritual

Some philosophers have indulged in the cheap and melancholy jibe, that Science has given a V-2 civilization, one of bombs and destruction. I suppose that when primitive man invented stone implements and then in course of time bows, arrows and swords, contemporary primitive philosophers bemoaned the terrible fate that had overtaken the species on account of these inventions which supplanted fists, nails and teeth, the more respectable and natural implements of war, prophesied ruin and called on their gods and goddesses to save them from Science and its diabolical discoveries. Incidentally, may I respectfully add that these natural weapons are still in considerable vogue amongst women, who retain our old racial characteristics to a greater extent than men and are, of course, more religious. Alas, for the philosophers' prayers and lamentations ! The gods and goddesses have dwindled and dissolved into thin air, while Science grows dualistically a power that at once creates and sustains, as well as destroys. If it has given us V-2, it has also given us penicillin. Can it be contended that scientific Sovietism has come off less successfully than Religion in its service of the neglected and exploited humanity, both in their welfare and in their status and dignity, through its service agencies like schools, hospitals and orphanages ? I do not know which will weigh greater in the final scales of history, Science or Religion. But I am inclined to think that both knowledge and faith are indispensable and there is no need

to pit one against the other.

Prevention, cure, relief, alleviation—all these degrees and variations of the healing touch and consoling contact become more effective when they are scientifically organized and put on a firm institutional basis.

The ills that our flesh, and may I also include the mind, are heir to are due to a variety of causes, not all of which could be prevented. Take for instance, the havoc wrought by floods, storms, earthquakes and volcanoes. When Nature is seized with homicidal mania, what could man do? Not nothing; for we can give relief, and alleviate the suffering of the victims. In America there is insurance against the terrible devastation of tornadoes. In India we have famine insurance funds in the Provincial budgets; more such devices might be provided to mitigate the effects of calamities. But in an emergency the staff of Governments and Organized Institutions would not be enough. Here it is that the missionary spirit of voluntary workers enlisting in their hundreds becomes necessary.

Again, there are ills caused at birth or before birth, mental and physical, which are dealt with by psychologists and doctors. The poor unfortunate children inherit disabilities. With better and more food, hygiene, spread of knowledge, and wholesome habits even more than knowledge, preventive methods can play their part, though cure and alleviation of ills in such cases cannot be dispensed with.

Then there are the numerous evils and crimes of passion; of gross selfishness, anti-social impulses and sexuality and the rest of them, catalogued in a former Convocation Address by Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji; which are partly due to economic causes and partly to mental and moral perversities. Some schools of thought hold them to be diseases that might be cured, while other and older schools continue to think of them as crimes and sins which must be more aptly encountered with retributive justice than with reformation.

Science too, in some cases, upholds the retributive spirit. In some modern States, where human life is regulated on principles of biology (and why should it not be?) compulsory sterilization—a mixture of prevention and retribution—has been enacted and enforced. So far as the above classes of ills and evils are concerned, all are agreed that it is the duty of State, Society and Religion to do something rational and scientific to retrieve the individual and safeguard the race.

There is another species of ills for which there is no ethical condemnation forthcoming, viz., ills wrought by one race, nation, state or caste on another in the name of patriotism or religious tradition. The horrors of war, and the less spectacular, though scarcely less horrid, exploitation and degradation of weaker peoples are not only not condemned, but perhaps commended as virtues. Not only is there no feeling of revolt and remorse, but there is patriotic or other approbation. Of course, this is an incident of the struggle for existence. Life is the basis of good life—life must be preserved at all costs. So long as race, nation and State continues to be the unit of inter-human struggle for existence, these wrongs and these cruelties will continue to be perpetrated or endured as duties, as otherwise death, degradation and enslavement result.

Caste and its gradations based on birth within a State, race or society, do not seem to have any justification now, though there must have been historical grounds for their existence. They are survivals in a society in which inertia has overcome the capacity to dynamic change with the times. But the case of India is not hopeless, indeed, it is full of hope. Who would have thought that our women would have, in the short space of twenty to twenty-five years come forward in such numbers and in such quality, discarding their inherited tribalisms and *purdahs*, to play a glorious part in our national struggle, braving and enduring risks and dangers which must have been

extremely repugnant to their feelings! Similarly, in respect of the changed attitude of the higher castes towards the untouchables and the consequent right of temple entry accorded to those unfortunate brothers and sisters of ours. The Gandhian spiritual dynamite has blasted the hard rock of conservatism in some respects. There is place for the spiritual along with the scientific, but not in supersession of either by the other.

Has it struck you that race has stood in the way of Universal God, the Father of all, being not merely a noble idea, but an actual ethic and regulation of conduct? When Christian nations go to war, they pray to God to help them to victory over their enemies. In other words, they treat God as a tribal deity who is bound to help his tribe against the other tribes and mobilise him with their armies! So long as race, the declared or undeclared conception of master folk, white superiority over the coloured and other forms of superiorities and inferiorities, persist, thus long will you have white churches and black churches, *our* gods and *your* gods, though the one God, Universal and Father of all, will always have the attraction of a sublime idea yet to be realised, and which, I think will not be realised unless there is an effective global order capable of preventing wars and economic exploitations and of applying and enforcing judicial processes honestly administered to the solution of international and inter-racial disputes on the basis of the equal right of all to live and the equal duty of all to let live. One World, one God—these are the culminating ideals of human evolution, which will be conjointly realised; until then many gods de facto will continue to divide and rule man-kind.

Meanwhile, historically, inductively speaking, motives for the service of man have been two—religious and racial, the latter which appears in the form of state or national power and efficiency, in addition to natural sentiment, being the strongest at

the family stage and getting weaker as it ranges wider. These two motives are not exclusive. They have acted together. The Positivist school appealed to ethics as a third motive. Morrison's "Service of Man" is a notable book on the subject; but pure ethics has not been an efficient motive of action to the same extent as the desire to attain heaven or the longing to annex the earth.

The secular motive or racial power or national strength cannot operate in a dependent country beyond a certain limit without rousing the suspicion and hostility of the suzerain government. If you reflect on British Indian History, two propositions appear self-evident. Firstly, the policy of the British Government has been to promote our efficiency in subordination, and not to bring us up, to co-ordinate international strength and rank. Our Universities, Commerce, Industry, Shipping, Army, etc., are proofs of this culture of inferiority. Secondly, the material and moral progress which they, on their own initiative, promoted in India was dictated more by their needs than our requirements and ambition. For instance, until this terrible global, total war broke out, they did not throw open Commissions in the Army or in the I. M. S. to our people freely. They would not agree that locomotives could be constructed in India. But how many things which till 1939 were dismissed as unnecessary, undesirable, or impossible have since been found to be urgent projects worthy of their sanction! Why, even scientific research has been promoted in a hurry. At one time there were too many persons educated in India! Today there are not enough. These are a few illustrative instances forming by no means a complete catalogue, which one might be tempted to compile under the title, "Then and Now".

The test of progress in England is: "Are we at least equal to the next most powerful nation in this respect or that in which comparison is natural". For instance, Is the English Navy more powerful than Germany's

or Japan's? In India the test is: "Are you better this year than what you were last year, and by what percentage?" International standards are not applied; because we are not yet a nation. We are compared with our yesterday. Our fitness for today's or tomorrow's international competition never comes into the picture. Those who are blind to the future are of course false to the past and the present.

This is the justification of the hypothesis of the Bombay Plan, that without a national government pursuing policies conceived in the interests, requirements and ambitions of India, the chances of honest post-war reconstruction must be held to be rather remote and slender. But can we have real national government in the present deeply divided condition of India? I raise the issue and pass on, as it would take me too far out into politics.

Let me say this: power pursued as an end in itself is wrong as well as bad. It is the negation of both right and good. But powerlessness is not the remedy. True, they say the meek shall inherit the earth; but it is usually some feet below the surface of the earth, if the aggressor is good enough to bury them instead of cremating! The fact is, power is a condition of good. We Indians have failed to achieve enough power for conserving and promoting the good of our country and of the world. We seem now to have engulfed ourselves in sectional and communal quagmires from which extrication, except by the very Government which we want to displace, is impossible, which as dear old Euclid would say in his sententious manner is *Reductio ad absurdum*.

In this Post Graduate School of Social Sciences and Services—you are investigating problems in terms of Indian life, conditions and cultural and conduct values. And you must keep this Indian background and outlook in your investigations, appraisals and methodologies.

I noticed that some European Psychiatrists do not appear to evaluate our mental

state properly in terms of our conduct reactions, individual and social. An educated woman who confessed that she was deeply attached to her family traditions, was described as lacking in individuality and personality; as though such attachments could not be made the stuff of robust contribution to our war efforts. The Japanese fight for the honour of their dead ancestors; the Europeans for the good of this generation and the generations to come. Who can say that for war purposes, the one mentality is better or worse than the other? The psychological data may be well noted but their emotional and conduct and personality values must be understood in the light of our heritage and culture.

The hindrances in India to organised social services are many and peculiar. Sporadic charity is widely felt to be a religious obligation. It is gratifying to simple souls. Organization is mistaken for mechanization. They forget that even their soul which they are so keen on saving, has to have a physiological mechanism, highly automatic, before it can start its salvational activities. Caste divides and dwarfs the range of sympathy and human contacts. Amongst some tribes religion enjoins crime! Religion has enjoined wars and patriotism the economic cannibalism of one race over another. The one could be cured, at least, as easily as the other. Literacy is lacking, but the Gandhian movement has shown that ideas could be spread and conduct evoked, though its appeal has a semi-superstitious character and is based more on faith than reason. I confess I have no gift for believing what I cannot understand; and the causal connection between Bihar earthquakes and the sin of Malabar Untouchability is beyond my power and inclination to grasp. But the fact remains that Mahatma Gandhi has stirred men, women and children in the rural no less than in urban areas as no other single individual or movement has stirred the country within recorded time. Genius

is a law unto itself ! Our fatalism is another obstacle. One of its forms is self-centred judgments and utter lack of the sense of social averages. If you prove that inoculation reduces mortality from plague or cholera by 50%, the average Indian asks : "But will it guarantee to save me ? If it does not, what matters the 50% reduction if I am not one of that 50%". These are the evil results of our long subjection to caste and creed and our statelessness in a world of active, contending states. Lastly, the Communists suspect all improvement in labour conditions and promotions of labour welfare as a capitalistic ruse to dope workers into complacent inactivity.

There is thus a call for heads and brave hearts to put forth exertions, to remove ignorance and misunderstandings, and by their selfless, though salaried, efforts to promote not only social welfare but rouse social sympathies and the saving grace of humanitarianism. Humanity looks to you to lead and set the example. Though this type of Institute, functioning in an Urban area is comprehensive in outlook and scope, yet the rural aspect of the problem has been sought

to be emphasised by the Kasturba Memorial Movement, to which let me wish every success. It deals with villages and women and children. Nothing more important and more urgent could be conceived. I can only hope that modernistic ideals would be adopted and primitivisms would not be mistaken for pristine purity and perfect peace. We cannot close our Universities ; we cannot shut out Science and its applications. Even if we use our power or influence to put out our domestic lamps, it won't extinguish the Sun by whom the world guides itself. Science and spirituality are not actually antagonistic. May they be in perpetual conjunction and lead us from our present state of dependence, disabilities and distress to independence and equal rank and prosperity, not as a State fighting with other states, but as one of the co-operating members and organs of an effective global order, which I trust will come into being, banishing war for ever and in its place giving mankind irrelative of race, creed and colour, the reign of global law, and well distributed and co-ordinated economic prosperity and the supreme happiness of peace.

## Labour Legislation in Post-War India

S. THOMAS EDWARD

If legislation in the hands of tyrants has proved to be a powerful weapon, it has proved to be a more useful one in the hands of democracies. The trend of world events indicates that legislation in future will play a greater role in benefitting an enfranchised humanity, particularly labour. Examining a few defects of our labour legislation, the writer here cautions that bad legislation will aggravate problems and consequently suggests the enlargement of the scope of the existing enactments, and stresses the need for a uniform labour code and its proper enforcement.

Mr. Thomas Edward (Tata Institute '38) is Labour Welfare Officer, H. M. I. Docks, Bombay.

**P**LANS for post-war reconstruction in all aspects of human life are being forged out all over the world. Every nation, whether big or small, is coming forward with its own scheme for the social and economic uplift of its own nationals. This urge for reconstruction implies the universal realization of the failure of past plannings and ideologies which plunged

humanity into World War II. Any war is an anti-social act of one party against the other in which the peace-loving neighbours get involved and the result is the untold miseries and sufferings caused by the destruction of men and materials by the most horrible methods that human minds can ever conceive. The entire social and economic fabrics of the countries involved in the war

are shattered and their sacred precincts are smeared with the crimson blood of their subjects, mostly young and middle aged, leaving behind the aged and tender ones to mourn the loss of their dear ones and bear the burden of war. The havoc this World War has caused to human and material resources is colossal and world-wide and consequently the resultant problems will have to be tackled in a comprehensive manner so as to ensure a more lasting peace. Edward R. Stettinius, Secretary of State, U. S. A., speaking of the Post-War Peace Plans says, "We hate war. Yet twice in a generation we have been forced to fight to defend our freedom and our vital interest against powerful aggressors. Our young men are giving their lives daily because we and other peace-loving nations did not succeed after the last war in organizing and maintaining peace. It is upto us to see that their sons—and ours—are not forced to give their lives in another great war twenty-five years from now." He further says, "After we have won this war we shall have only one alternative to prepare for the next war. That is to prevent the next war. It is imperative that we start now. We can do it only by planning and developing in co-operation with other peace-loving peoples of the world."<sup>1</sup> Peace and plenty have often lulled nations into lethargic conditions from which wars have roused them with a shock, into thought and action. It is the bitter experience of today resulting out of the failures and frustrations of the past that goads nations to action. Being tired of the horrors and sufferings of the last more than five years, human eyes are straining through the dust and dark clouds of war to have a view of the light that will enlighten and cheer them up once again. Just as the day follows the night there will be calm after storm and peace after war. The object of planning is to stabilize this peace. It aims at securing lasting and beneficent

peace to all alike by remoulding the social fabric.

India too has been rudely shaken out of her slumber resulting out of her prolonged period of peace though not of plenty. Peace she has had but it was not worth the cost she has had to pay for it. She has enjoyed this so called peace at a tremendous cost of poverty, sickness, famine and suffering. A land which was noted for its wealth and pomp in the pre-Moghal period, is today the poorest country in the whole world. There has been some serious thinking in respect of the future social and economic development of the country and plans by both official and unofficial bodies have been formulated and submitted to public criticism. But how far these plans can be carried out seems to be the major problem of the day. It is feared that no plan will succeed—whether initiated by official or unofficial agencies—except the one drawn by a national body completely in control of all the economic, social and industrial activities of the nation. Any successful planning to achieve its objective must be complete and thorough by itself which implies state control of currency, and economic and industrial policy. It is not our purpose here to discuss the merits and demerits of planning by the State. Let us leave them to the economists and politicians to decide.\*

In a well considered plan for the post-war India the problem of Labour Legislation should find a very important place as it involves the life and living of a large majority of the 400 millions of our population. The term labour here is used in its widest sense to include all kinds of workers engaged in productive occupations. In all the plans which have so far been outlined emphasis is largely laid on the need for the alleviation of poverty of the masses through industrialization. This is because poverty is widely recognized to be the main cause of all social evils. There are various factors in capitalistic industrialism and individualistic commercialism that promote and

<sup>1</sup> "What Dumbarton Oaks Peace Plan means," Readers' Digest, page 1, February, 1945.

increase poverty and sickness among the masses by denying equal rights and opportunities to all citizens. Naturally the State has to intervene to protect the rights of the weaker persons through legislative measures. State intervention in such cases is a common feature all over the world. As in other countries India also has had certain protective legislations safe-guarding the rights and privileges of industrial labour. But there seems to be no thought given to protect the rights of the huge mass of agricultural and miscellaneous labour who are left to the mercies of their masters. The condition of agricultural labour in India is pathetic. Their life under their landed proprietors can be likened very much to the life of serfs under Feudalism in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

The recent achievements in communications have reduced the distance between the various countries through quick transport. Hopes are being fostered of the possibility of travelling around the world in 60 hours. The well organized commercial system of spreading news is presenting to our people very lucid pictures of life as it is lived in other progressive countries and the efforts to promote literacy have added to gradually enlighten the Indian masses who are daily gaining consciousness of their place in society and right to live. The industrial working classes are at last learning to give up their philosophy of *Karma* with its fatalistic significance. They believe that their poverty and suffering are man-made and definitely feel that those responsible for reducing them to such low levels can also help to bring society back to health and happiness. If those in power fail to read the writing on the wall, it is feared that they will be inviting serious trouble to this country in the post-war period. India, with its recognized spiritual outlook, can very easily avoid the revolutionary methods of other countries in bringing about social and economic changes.

The discontent among the masses resulting out of poverty and misery is a potential volcano threatening a dangerous eruption at any moment. This is the time to trace the causes of discontent and remove them. Then there will be no room for regrets.

The place of labour comes foremost in the future economic development of India. The various plans for improving the social and economic conditions of India have stressed the need for country-wide industrial developments to provide employment for the teeming millions, absorb profitably all the raw materials, and tap all the natural resources in the interests of human well-being and happiness. Consequently, labour problems and Labour Legislation should merit foremost consideration. Over 70% of the Indian population can be classified as labourers of one type or another and this huge number gives a fairly good idea of the extent of the problem.

While planning for Labour Legislation in post-war period it is essential to picture the various types of labour force including those employed in cotton textiles, jute, iron-steel industries, mines, railways and those that are working under much less advantageous conditions in the distant tea gardens of Assam, Travancore, etc., and the conditions prevailing amongst them. Broadly speaking labour can be classified under the following heads:—

- (1) Industrial Labour (labour in factories, mines and other establishments for the production or treatment of raw materials into finished goods).
- (2) Agricultural Labour.
- (3) Transport Labour.
- (4) Miscellaneous Labour (coolies, domestic servants, building-workers, etc.).

It is not possible in the limited space at our disposal to deal in detail with Labour Legislation covering all categories of the labour force. Besides, all the industries are not governed by legislative measures excepting those of the important industries like cotton, jute, iron-steel. There are no

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller discussion of the subject see *Agricultural Workers in India* by Dr. Lorenzo in the *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. V, No. 4.



uniform laws in all the provinces and States of the country. Conditions vary very widely and as such we shall attempt to deal with legislation governing the interest of labour employed in some of the major industries only. The history of factory or Labour Legislation has a very sorry tale to tell being mostly animated by a narrow outlook and self interest of employees. Legislation as such was enforced not because it was in the best interest of the workers, but because it suited the policy of the government to confine, to a certain extent, to international decisions and in order to reduce conflicts between capital and labour. They were gifts bestowed but did not grow out of the needs and desires of those that were to be protected by them. Daniel H. Buchanan while speaking of Labour Legislation in India says, "India has more advanced factory legislation than any other Asiatic country, adopted partly at the behest of Indian and English philanthropists, and partly at the behest of Lancashire, lest lack of labour regulations should result in embarrassing competition."<sup>3</sup>

In order to understand properly the question of post-war Labour Legislation it is essential to briefly review the existing Labour Legislation so that we may be able to understand their shortcomings and suggest rectifications wherever they are necessary. In this connection it will be interesting to note that all the Labour Legislation excepting the Factory Act was the result of labour trouble in the country after the First World War.

Existing Labour Legislation is classified into the following four groups for the sake of convenience :—

- (a) Legislation relating to hours of work, working conditions, employment of labour, conditions in factories, etc.
- (b) Legislation determining employer-employee relationship.
- (c) Legislation relating to collective bargaining and workers' organizations.

(d) Welfare legislation or social security legislation.

The following legislative enactments deal with items under the foregoing classification, and they give an idea of the scope and field they cover :—

I (1) The Factory Act.

(2) The Mines Act.

(3) The Plantation Act.

(4) Shops and Establishments Act.

(5) Transport Legislation relating to Railways, Ports and Docks.

(6) The Payment of Wages Act.

II (1) Trade Disputes Act.

(2) Industrial Disputes Act.

III (1) The Indian Trade Union Act, 1926.

(2) The Bombay Industrial Disputes Act of 1938.

*Welfare Legislation :*

IV (1) Maternity Benefit Act

(2) Workmen's Compensation Act.

Now let us consider actual conditions under the present laws :—

The Factory Act mainly deals with the worker in relation to his work-place and working conditions. The most important points of the Act are :—(a) Working hours, (b) Age limits for employment, (c) Conditions governing employment of women workers and children, and (d) Certain sections are of protective and preventive nature.

Due to war-time emergency some of the very important sections restricting the hours of work, prohibiting employment of women underground, etc., have had to be temporarily rescinded. There seems to be no valid reason for such a change especially in a country like India.

Much has been written in the columns of newspapers both in India and abroad voicing the opinion of different schools of thought on the issue of hours of work. As our aim here is to deal with post-war problems only, let us consider the possibilities of improving the existing legislation regarding working hours. Though the Factory Act lays down the maximum as 54 hours a week, yet there

<sup>3</sup> Capitalistic Enterprise in India, page 442.

has been a natural move towards reduction of working hours to 48 a week. Great Britain, New Zealand, Canada, the U. S. A. and Australia have adopted the 48 hours week. Eight-hours-a-day legislation was actually recommended in the International Labour Convention in 1919. Some countries like Soviet Russia, New Zealand and the U. S. A. have gone even ahead and have attempted to reduce working hours to forty-four and even forty a week. In the U. S. S. R. upto 1940 Engineering and Textile Industries had seven hours a day, Chemical, Iron and Steel Industries six hours and a half. From June 1940 owing to war-time requirements the working hours were raised to eight hours a day, yet the shortest in any country in the world.

The issue that needs consideration here is whether such a reduction will be justified as economical in India or not. Several industrialists have expressed before the various enquiry committees that there exists a great variation between the normal working hours and actual working hours. Some have estimated the actual working hours to seven and others to eight. It will also be admitted by those who have tried three shifts of eight hours or 7½ hours that the efficiency and output compared with the hours of work were higher than under the two shifts system of nine hours. Another argument for shorter hours of work is that the system may provide employment for larger number of men and this may lead to a partial solution of the unemployment problem; though this argument is strongly criticized by economists on various theoretical grounds. In spite of this objection, along with other considerations, we would advocate shorter hours of work as conducive to (1) rational and efficient working which would not only benefit the industry in particular but also the nation in general by bringing about the mental and physical development of the employees through the provision of adequate leisure for healthy recreational facilities and (2) shorter hours and full day working

will naturally employ more men and relieve the tension of unemployment in the nation. In this connection it must not be forgotten that the economic stability of any industry largely depends upon the purchasing power of the community or nation. Full employment to all will naturally mean increased production and larger purchasing power essential for industrial stability. Shorter hours should not be followed by reductions in wages and as such shorter hours should be naturally combined with rationalization in the interest of industrial stability.

*Machinery for Enforcement.*—The next important point in relation to Factory Legislation is the machinery that is set up to enforce the enactments. In view of the tremendous growth of industries and the tendency on the part of employers to adopt evasive methods there should be more regular and stricter restrictions to enforce the provisions of the Act; at the same time attempts are to be made through employers' associations to educate their members in the need for strictly adhering to the legislation in the interest of the nation and not to avoid them in their own personal and profiteering motives. Wealth and position have got value in a social organization but one cannot try to successfully live for a long time in opposition to the interests of the community in which he is placed. Therefore, industrialists should not attempt to do a thing merely because the penal clause in the legislative measure governing his actions as a factory owner compels him to do, but he should do it as part of a duty to the nation on the strength of which the strength of the industry and his own security lies. Self-education on the part of the industrialist is needed to achieve this.

The Factory Inspection staff as at present constituted is inadequate and to a certain extent incapable of successfully doing the tremendous work assigned to it. How it is incapable can be proved by referring to the one fact which obtains amongst factories of

employing men with merely engineering qualifications as inspectors. These may be good engineers, very good at heart, but if they are unable to understand human needs and values what inspection they can attend to and how such inspection will improve the lot of workmen is beyond our comprehension. The principle of appointing engineers seems to be to look after the conditions of machinery and not of human beings; thus human considerations are lost sight of. It is understood that to inspect and improve the lot of thousands of workmen working above and underground there are about two inspectresses for the whole of India. What a sad neglect of human life !

Later sections of the Factory Act dealing with health, protective and sanitary measures within the work-places are more often observed in their breach. Greater attention must be paid to enforce these legislative measures in the interest of the health of thousands of workers. The central Government, now aware of the need to improve the lot of industrial workers as regards their health, have caused a health survey to be made and the report is published. It is hoped that the facts collected will be utilized for planning constructively so as to reduce sickness and suffering in future. In this connection it must be said that however chaotically the villages may be built, however unhealthy their dwellings may be, the villagers who are drawn into the crowded industrial cities are not provided with better conditions of living than they could get in their native villages. In their rural environment there was ample scope for them to have sufficient sun-light and air and natural ways and means of consuming a more healthy meal. They had enough water in the tanks, rivers and wells to bathe or drink and they had a better sense of social security and contentment in the framework of their community in which they were placed. Besides, the nature of the work they had to do in their village was less strenuous and less monotonous with more leisure

and other advantages than the industrial work. It may be argued that the industrial worker is better paid ; but on comparative merits the better cash wage in an industrial city is a myth. Naturally it falls upon the industry and the State to improve the health of millions by providing adequate preventive and curative medical and health facilities. Of course, in this direction there is one obstacle from the workers and that is their lack of co-operation to any new endeavour due to their conservatism born of ignorance. This obstacle is not so insuperable as is often described to be ; it can be overcome through education.

*Wages Disparities.*—The most important post-war legislation is the need for wage fixation and standardization. Several of the industrial enquiry committees have recommended wage fixation. There seems to be no definite basis or standard today which determines the amount of remuneration payable to a particular type of work. This causes a widespread disparity between the wages paid in the same industry for similar occupation of various units, wages paid in different areas, and also varying wages paid for similar occupations in different industries. Such a disparity is the source of perpetual discontent which has been already responsible for a great number of industrial disturbances. In this connection it may be argued as to how it is possible to have uniform standardization of wages for the whole country. Nothing is impossible where there is a will to do. Instead of sitting and deliberating without end as to how it can be accomplished, we will have to get through it somehow in the common interest of all. Such a standardization will naturally involve minimum wage fixation also. In the event of resorting to legislative measures to standardize wages, due consideration should be given to the requirement for a standard of living which will ensure a healthy life to all the members of the working community as also an efficient industrial organization. Wage fixation and

standardization are necessary in order to fulfil the promise of "freedom from want," which is one of the Peace aims.

The Bombay Textile Inquiry Committee have gone further and recommended a living wage standard. When reference to wage fixation was made in the foregoing pages, purposely it was made in general to include both minimum and maximum standards based on the living requirements of each locality. The Bombay Textile Inquiry Committee in their report say: "In all centres and for large majority of occupations in the Cotton Textile Industry the wages earned are inadequate in relation to a living wage standard." One may ask what is the importance of wage standardization? The answer is that a large majority of industrial disputes mainly relate to wage questions. (1) An all-round standardization will remove the cause of recurrent wage disputes and the consequent industrial and national loss. (2) It will remove unfair competition between unit and unit or centre and centre which prevails under the existing wage disparity. (3) It has a great educative value in providing a sound basis for comparison and verification of all standards. (4) It widens the scope for collective bargaining. (5) It infuses in the minds of workers a sense of solidarity necessary for industrial peace and national well-being. (6) Finally such a standardization will naturally increase the earning capacity of the workers and thereby increase the purchasing power of the industrial community as a whole which will indirectly mean larger output, quicker distribution and better turnover.

*Legislation Determining the Employer-Employee Relations.*—The Trade Disputes Act of 1929 is the only legislation that regulates employee and employer relations on an all-India basis. The Act is very indefinite on various vital issues and it has not helped to solve the problem of industrial disputes. There is nothing in the Act to prohibit illegal strikes.

The Act lays down the principle of conciliation proceedings in an industrial dispute, but in a majority of provinces and states there is no permanent arrangement for conciliation. Even inspite of the existence of a conciliatory machinery there have been a number of instances where steps were taken long after a dispute arose and strikes were started. To put it rather plainly, inspite of the Trade Disputes Act, much of avoidable hardships to the workmen and public, resulting out of strikes, were allowed to occur. The Act was passed in 1929 and if we compare available statistics regarding strikes, we can understand clearly the inability of the Act to reduce suffering due to strikes:—

Year	No. of Disputes	Workmen Involved	Work-days Lost
1930	148	196,301	2,261,731
1931	166	203,008	2,408,123
1932	118	128,099	1,922,437
1933	146	164,938	2,168,961
1934	159	220,808	4,775,559
1935	145	114,217	973,475
1936	157	169,029	2,358,062
1937	379	647,801	8,982,795
1938	399	401,075	9,198,708
1939	406	409,189	4,992,795
1940	322	452,539	7,577,288
1941	359	291,054	3,330,503
1942	654	820,495	5,293,027

The last three years fall within war time emergency period, yet there have been more stoppages than in the previous years. Since 1930 upto 1942 there have been in all an average of 296·8 strikes affecting 324,427 workmen and 4,318,686 work-days lost per year. The above figures show that there has been one strike almost every working day. The total number of workers employed in industries according to published reports is 2,727,972 in 1940. If we take into consideration the total number of workers in relation to the average number of work-days lost in a year it reveals that every worker loses two days' wages due to strike. This colossal loss of work-days and earning

capacity will naturally explain how ineffective the Act has been and what remedial measures are to be taken to improve the same. The Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act of 1934 and the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act of 1938 attempted to remove the two major defects of the All India Trade Disputes Act of 1929 by (1) setting up a permanent conciliation machinery and (2) making conciliation compulsory. But these two Acts are applicable only to the province of Bombay. The Bombay Industrial Disputes Act is a far advanced piece of legislation under this head but it is not yet perfect in all aspects. There is already a move afoot to make improvements in the same.

The notable points of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act are :—

(1) It attempts to regulate the conditions governing employment through mutual understanding of the parties concerned.

(2) It definitely lays down that rules and regulations governing service conditions should be drawn as agreed to by both the parties and settled by the Labour Commissioner with a right to appeal to the Industrial Court. Nowhere in India such a provision is made.

(3) It retracts all lightning strikes and affords sufficient time and opportunity to avoid any strike.

(4) It aims also to promote genuine Trade Unions on sound lines.

(5) It sets up a permanent Industrial Court.

Though there are a number of technical defects like the lengthy conciliation proceedings, etc., yet the general principles involved in the Act are very progressive. It will be in the best interest of Indian Industry and the workers to have an extensive legislative measure on the lines of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act for the whole of India. Working classes are day by day growing conscious of their rights and privileges and their demand for fair

and equitable treatment is increasing and there is bound to be a good deal of unrest after the war and such definite legislation to prevent loss and suffering is very essential.

*Legislation Relating to Collective Bargaining and Workers' Organizations.*—The only Act in the field is the Trade Union Act of 1926. The important point of this Act is that it has given a legal status to Trade Unions. Beyond this it has not been able to achieve any material progress. The above fact can be substantiated by the history of Trade Unions. The total number of Trade Unions in 1927-28 were twenty-eight with a membership of 100,619. This works out to an average of 3,400 per Union. In 1940-41 the number has risen to 711 with membership of 513,832 and the average membership per Union is 1,064. The increase in the number of Unions is due to a large extent to the split in the original unions and formation of many small unions with comparatively less membership. Though Trade Union movement has been going on in this country for over two decades its progress and achievements are comparatively poor. The 513,832 members of the registered Trade Unions mentioned above include those of a few unions other than the industrial ones. But still if a percentage is worked out the membership will come to less than 20% of the total number of workers employed in the industry. The Ahmedabad Textile Labour Union seems to be one of the very few well organized Trade Unions with 24,000 members to its credit and running a number of welfare organizations. The Act, as it is, empowers registration but there is no binding of compulsory recognition of such Trade Unions on the part of the employers. In the absence of such compulsory recognition the union will not be able to achieve much in collective bargaining. Compulsory recognition without certain obligations on the part of the unions is not advocated. Legislation to that end detailing the minimum conditions which

would entitle recognition is very essential. A genuine Trade Union is a source of power and strength to industry.

Without indulging in a lengthy digression from the legitimate scope of the subject we may here, in passing, briefly outline the necessary conditions for successful Trade Unionism in India. The first and the foremost condition is the need for removal of illiteracy and ignorance of the workers. Secondly, the leaders of unions must be from the rank and file of the working class. Thirdly, a union's activities should not be mixed with any political creed and class-war, though conditions peculiar to India cannot permit a Trade Union to remain out of politics altogether. Fourthly, a Trade Union must aim at eradicating evils confronting the working class rather than fomenting and fostering conflicts. Lastly, a permanently interested industrial community should be developed, rather than the migratory agricultural-cum-industrial community as at present, who can develop a sense for unionism and maintain regular contact and permanent interest, essential to the growth of Trade Unionism.

The strength and power of unions must come from within as a natural growth and development but not be imposed from without by law. The employers also have to be blamed for not helping to develop genuine Trade Unions—the strength and the backbone of industries. The Royal Commission on Labour while describing the attitude of employers towards Trade Unions said "In many cases we found it difficult to ascertain what active steps have been taken to encourage the growth of healthy Trade Unionism; while the attitude of some employers in the dealings with Trade Unions was singularly ill-calculated to that end." This statement describes exactly the existing conditions. Unless and until the employers awake from their lethargy and reconstruct the situation it is feared the class conflicts that have already started are sure to lead to dangerous ends.

*Welfare Legislation.*—Welfare legislation seems to have ill-fared in the hands of administrators and industrialists. There seems to have been no genuine interest to materially improve the living conditions of the industrial workers.

Let us take the two existing Acts: (1) The Maternity Benefit Act, and (2) The Workmen's Compensation Act. The Maternity Benefit Act was first enacted in Bombay in 1929 to be followed by the various provinces upto 1940 when Assam passed an Act of its own. The Central Government's Mines Maternity Act was passed in 1941. In spite of comparatively large number of female workers employed in various industries, the Central Government could not think of enacting a measure to protect their health during the prematernity and post maternity periods. The benefit provided under the Act is very inadequate. The issue must be considered under two heads: (1) protection to the industrially employed mother and (2) protection to the future generation of the nation. The interest of the industry is not only concerned with the mother employed but also with the child who is yet to be employed. The period of benefit must be extended to three months; four weeks before and eight weeks after maternity, and the period of employment entitling one to benefits should be reduced to six months instead of nine as at present. Besides, adequate facilities for medical and maternity treatments must be made available at reasonable cost or free. The Government of India are contemplating to increase the quantum of benefit from 8 annas to 12 annas per day. Even this is not adequate.

The Workmen's Compensation Act also is defective. The injured has no provision for the first seven days of absence and even the financial aid provided by way of fortnightly payments is inadequate because the injured as a bread-winner has not only to support his family but also to attend to his injury. The Indian industrial worker is not so well paid as to lay aside enough to

meet such contingent expenses. As the injury is the result of mechanised industry it is essential to see that adequate provision is made by the employer to provide for the treatment and maintenance of the worker and his family during such treatment. In this connection it may be suggested that in the cities, or large industrial centres, all the employers can pool together their resources and provide well equipped hospital facilities not only for the worker but also for his family. It will not only be a help to the worker but will also relieve the congestion in private and public hospitals and thus by reducing the strain may help to provide better facilities for treatment and care of others. On the whole, industrial employment conditions must be made sufficiently attractive to draw men from the rural areas. Some argue that if a proper sickness insurance scheme is introduced then the issue of compensation for industrial accident will not arise. This is a misreading of the situation. Sickness is different from accident and it must be dealt with separately. Moreover, the compensation that is provided is very inadequate, especially in case of very serious injuries, particularly to life and limb. The compensation awarded to-day is based on the poor man's standard. If national interest is foremost in the minds of industrialists then it should be their duty to give complete protection to the members of the family who happen to lose or get disabled their bread-winner through industrial accidents.

One deplorable feature in connection with the compensation payment is the delay in obtaining relief for the victims. There are some organizations like the Bombay Mill Owners' Association where there is a permanent machinery in the form of the Bombay Mill Owners' Mutual Insurance which quickly dispenses all compensation cases. But in case of many individual concerns where the injured or the family members of the injured have to fight their own compensation cases it is often a lost battle.

It may be mentioned by way of illustration a case which is within our knowledge. A young boy of about 20, a promising carpenter, was employed in a cinema production company. In the course of his work he fell down and sustained some injuries to which he succumbed. The employer tried to avoid payment of compensation by false methods. The father took up the case through lawyers and after a month or two a lump sum compensation was awarded but by that time the ownership of the company had changed and the original owner had disappeared. The poor father after several attempts to get relief finally gave up hope. Similar cases there may be many. D. A. Buchanan says, "Injured workers have so far made little use of the provisions (of the Compensation Act) because they deem it better to accept what is offered than to enter a litigation . . . . . Many people, however, do not know that such a law exists and therefore fail to make any claim."<sup>4</sup> Besides, the migratory tendency of the workmen makes it impossible to trace the claimants when the amounts of compensation are realised through commissioners. Future legislation must aim at setting right all these defects.

From the foregoing observations it will be seen that there has been no definite effort to safeguard the rights and privileges of the larger majority of agriculturals and other miscellaneous labour excepting the industrial. If there is to be uniform opportunity to live life on an equal level it is necessary to protect the life and standards of all alike. There is a very fruitful field for fresh legislation along the lines pursued with reference to industrial labour. The piece of legislation, and that too on a partial basis, helpful to the agriculturists seems to be the Debt Redemption Act.

In the field of industrial labour fresh legislation to improve the glaring inequalities are necessary on the following subjects :—

1. Compulsory Industrial Housing.

<sup>4</sup> Capitalistic Industry in India, page 448.

2. Sickness Insurance.
3. Old-age Pension and Provident Fund.
4. The Industrial Workers' Welfare Act.

The low standard of living of the industrial worker seems to be part and parcel of the poverty of the masses which breeds discontent and social insecurity. The Prime Minister of England has promised "Food, work and home for all." The Atlantic Charter has re-emphasised the above with a pledge to improve the standard of labour through social and economic development. There are no promises for the Indian poverty-stricken masses. This can come only through a Government interested in the wellbeing of the nation. Food, shelter, clothing and sufficient facilities for health and education and guarantee against unemployment are the minimum requirements for the social and economic security in India and legislation to that effect is very essential at an early date to avoid conflicts. •

The importance of Social Security Legislation is stressed in all the labour conferences and many schemes are under consideration. The post-war period will see a number of beneficial enactments definitely devoted to the improvement and wellbeing of the working class. The important factor that should be considered, then, is the need for a uniform legislation for the whole of India and not the piecemeal affair which is being adopted by legislatures today. The Royal Commission on Labour has very strongly advocated the need for all-India legislation. Whatever legislation is enacted, it must be made applicable to the whole of India including the States big and small.

Considering the miserable standard of living of most of the working men and women today, it is very necessary to introduce a large variety of welfare services for their benefit. These services must cater not only for the workman, but his whole family. The worker's food,

recreation, education, and general culture require attention at least during a transitory period. The worker should be helped to protect and care for the small child, and give a decent education to his sons and daughters. Families should receive adequate attention, and friendly guidance in their day-to-day struggle in a difficult and complex world. All these can be attended to if properly organized welfare departments extend their present activities and aim to achieve the real and personal welfare of the working class.

In conclusion we shall only quote what Sir Harold Butler of the International Labour Office has remarked in his report "Industry in East." "Notwithstanding the extensive reforms which have been carried on by the Indian Legislatures during the past fifteen years there are signs of acute discontent in most industrial centres..... The remedy for this state of affairs cannot be found wholly or mainly in legislation. Without reforms already carried through by Government the situation would no doubt have been more acute, but a peaceful atmosphere in factory cannot be created by law. It is the product of day-to-day dealings between management and workers and it is by these that the flow of production is mainly determined." The great disparity of labour conditions, by unequally distributing the burden of labour legislation among the provinces have tended to drive industry from the advanced provinces and States into less advanced ones thereby creating unfair competition. It is essential in the interests of uniform growth and development of industry to have uniform Labour Codes affording equal and fair opportunities for the huge majority of the Indian population. The urgent post-war needs, therefore, in a nutshell are uniform Labour Code for all kinds of labour and proper machinery for the enforcement of the same all over the country.



# The Sargent Scheme Scrutinized

G. S. KRISHNAYYA

In social dynamics educational planning is a vital cause as well as an important effect of the social process. No educational scheme in recent times, except the Wardha one, has drawn the universal attention comparable to that evoked by the Sargent Plan. In his following personal observations, Dr. Krishnayya submits the Plan to thorough analysis and examines the criticism levelled against it from various angles.

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**T**HE Scheme of Post-War Educational Development of India, popularly known as the Sargent Scheme of Education, has been before the public for over a year now. It has aroused considerable interest even amongst those who have but hazy notions of what it is all about.

*The Purpose.*—The Scheme, as it is now published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi, for the Bureau of Education is a closely printed 99-page volume, embodying in its 12 chapters the main proposals of the various Committees set up from 1935 by the reconstituted Central Advisory Board of Education. These committees dealt with a number of different subjects. The material from these Reports is held together by the ideas and suggestions of Mr. John Sargent, the Educational Advisor to the Government of India. Mr. Sargent is therefore not the sole author of the Board's Report but he is much more than one of its thirty four signatories. In fact, ever since he arrived in India the Board has worked in the expectation that sooner or later a serious attempt would have to be made to tackle the problem of providing India with a system of education approximating to those available in other countries. The members, who include all the Ministers and Advisors for Education and the D. P. I's of all the provinces, have devoted their attention to surveying the main fields of educational activity with a view to ascertaining what would be the minimum provision required. This Scheme has now been placed before the Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Council. Here then is the history of the present Report. No one was trying merely to make an impression. It was not a case of trying

to catch the public eye or the popular vote. And the Idea was not just to keep people's minds occupied and their thoughts engaged. It is a Scheme obviously based on years of study, begun when the provinces were under popular ministries and bearing the unmistakable marks of those days, and designed with the definite object of getting a real move on in matters educational. It would, therefore, be less than reasonable to question its motives or to suspect its bona fides.

Now with this preliminary idea of how the Scheme has come into existence, it may be worth while to note briefly the main features of the Scheme and then examine some of the chief criticisms levelled against it.

*I. General Principles.*—The general principles of the Scheme are as follows :—

- (i) Equality of opportunity for all children has to be guaranteed under a national scheme. A certain minimum of education for all boys and girls, and higher education of various types for those who have the aptitude for it have to be provided.
- (ii) All children have to be compulsorily at school from the age of six up to fourteen ; this period of education has to be made free and a complete responsibility of the State.
- (iii) High School, University, Technical and Vocational Education are to be made available for those who have the aptitude for it but cannot afford to pay for it. Such students have to be brought under a system of free scholarships and maintenance grants.
- (iv) Provision has also to be made for the

education of illiterate adults and physically and mentally handicapped children. A national scheme of education must also include recreation and social amenities for youths who have left school, a School Medical Service and Employment Bureau.

- (v) An efficient administrative machinery has to be brought into existence to administer the national scheme with vision, courage and faith.
- (vi) A new scheme of training the number of teachers required has to be undertaken with a view to put the above into operation within a stated period of years.

*Main Recommendations.—Basic Education.*—The most important part of Mr. Sargent's Scheme is that relating to Basic (Primary and Middle) Education—a system of universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14. The instruction to be provided should follow the lines laid down in reports already adopted by the Board. The Scheme suggests that, while the majority of the pupils should go through the complete course, children of ability and promise should be enabled, at the end of the Primary or Junior Basic stage, to enter High Schools and other institutions for higher education.

The cost of this stage is calculated on the basis of 1 teacher for 30 pupils in the Junior school and 1 teacher for 25 pupils in the Senior schools. By far the largest single item of expenditure will fall under this stage and will amount to Rs. 200 crores annually.

This would call for 1·8 million teachers to instruct 52 million pupils.

*Nursery Schools.*—India now has hardly any facilities for Nursery Schools or Classes but a proper system of Kindergarten instruction is an essential part of any national system of education. Mr. Sargent suggests that in urban areas separate Nursery Schools or Departments should be provided, while elsewhere where there are not sufficient

children, Nursery Classes should be attached to Primary Schools. Kindergarten work should invariably be in the hands of women teachers trained for the purpose. Such instruction should be free and every effort should be made to persuade parents to send their children to Schools, particularly in areas where housing conditions are bad or mothers have to go out to work.

*High Schools.*—Pupils at the age of 11 will, on completion of the Junior Basic Stage, undergo a test to assess their abilities, aptitude and general promise for High School Education. The High School course will cover 6 years from 11 to 17 instead of 5 years as at present. High School education is neither free nor compulsory but, since the pupils are admitted by selection, free places and maintenance allowances are to be provided.

On the basis of one child in every five going into high schools, of the age group 11-17, 72·5 lakhs pupils will require places in the high schools in British India. At present there are not more than 10 lakhs pupils in all the existing high schools, so that it will be necessary to provide 62·5 lakhs places over and above the number for whom provision is available.

High School education should be a stage complete in itself and not merely a preliminary to University education. The large majority of high school leavers should receive education that will fit them for direct entry into occupations and professions. The reorganized high schools should be of two main types: (1) Academic, (2) Technical. The Academic High Schools will impart instruction in the arts and pure science, while the Technical High Schools will emphasise applied science and industrial and commercial subjects. In both, the course in the junior stage will be a common core of the 'humanities' throughout. Art and Music should form an integral part of the curriculum in both, and all girls should take a course in domestic science. The needs of the area will be the dominant

factor in deciding what types of schools and what variety of courses should be provided. In rural areas where pupils are likely to take to agriculture on their own farms or elsewhere, an agricultural bias should be given to the curriculum.

The expenditure is calculated on the basis of 1 teacher to every 20 pupils. Half of the teachers will be graduates and the other half non-graduates. It is expected that half the number of pupils will pay fee at Rs. 6/- per mensem, the total income amounting to Rs. 26.11 crores. 5% of the income is expected from endowments. The State will have to provide 50 crores per annum for High School education throughout British India.

*University Education.*—Dealing with University Education reference is made to certain weaknesses of the prevailing system. India has not enough Universities for a country of her size and population, but the trouble is that the proportion of students in Indian Universities as compared to the School-going population is high, which shows that in India “the super-structure of the educational system has been allowed to develop before the main building has been erected on broad and sound foundations.” To raise standards all round the Board suggests here, too, that the conditions for admission should be revised to ensure that all students admitted will benefit from a University course; and they expect that the proposed re-organisation of the High School system will facilitate this. As in the High Schools, adequate assistance must be provided for poor students.

On the minimum basis of one in 15 students at the high school stage entering Universities, 74,000 matriculates will seek admission annually to the Universities. Thus for a 3 year course and post-graduate study 2,40,000 places are needed for Universities in British India. The average cost of a University student is estimated at Rs. 400 per annum. This is nearly 40% above the present average cost and makes provision

for improvement in lecturers' salary, reduction in size of classes, tutorial system, etc. The total cost will be Rs. 960 lakhs per annum. It is expected that 50% of the students will pay fees at Rs. 240/- per annum, the fee income being Rs. 288 lakhs per annum. 10% may be expected from endowments. 10% of the total cost will have to be set apart as maintenance grants of needy students. Thus, except for fee income which will amount to 30% of the total expenditure, the State will have to provide 70% of the total expenditure which is Rs. 672 lakhs.

An Indian University Commission is advocated to co-ordinate the activities of different Universities and eliminate overlapping or dispersion of effort. This authority should be created on the lines of the University Grants Committee in Great Britain.

*Technical Institution.*—Technical (including Commercial) education is an important service, and it is suggested that in view of the difficulties in the way of organising it on a provincial basis, it should be controlled, at any rate in its higher stage, by an all-India body called the National Council of Technical Education and that the cost should be borne by the Government of India. Prospective post-war developments make the establishment of an efficient system of technical instruction a matter of the greatest importance, and agricultural education is not the least important branch of technical instruction.

The Technical High School is an important new idea aiming at giving an all-round education with a technical bias for pupils of ability so as to satisfy the aptitudes of those who want a practical course, and the needs of industry and commerce for intelligent young workers. But apart from Technical High Schools, Technical instruction should meet the needs of five classes of industrial workers—the managerial class, research workers, the supervisory class, skilled artisans and semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

**Adult Education.**—Approximately 85% of the population in India is illiterate. The normal age-range of adults that should be made literate is fixed at 10-40. The total population in India within this age-range is 1,486 lakhs. Of these 14'64 are literate. This leaves 1,270 lakhs to be made literate. It is proposed to make them literate, within a period of 25 years, of which the first 5 years will have to be devoted to recruiting and training suitable teachers. During the period of 25 years about 335 lakhs will pass out of the 10-40 age-range. This leaves 905 lakhs to be made literate. Assuming that 1 teacher can make 20 adults literate in a course of instruction lasting 100 hours, the total number of teachers required will be 36'2 lakhs. It is proposed to pay Re. 1 per hour per teacher; the total expenditure will amount to Rs. 36'2 crores. To this must be added 15% to cover the expenditure on books, equipment and administration, etc. The total cost, therefore, amounts to 41'6 crores spread over 25 years. This is the cost of well-organized literacy drives, and 10% of this must be added for adult education. Thus the total on both literacy and education will amount to Rs. 59'7 crores.

To an increasing degree, as illiteracy is reduced, education in a fuller sense should be provided for those who become literate. Here, as in all branches of education, a big problem will be the securing of teachers and, while the main responsibility is the State's the help of voluntary organisations where they are available will have to be enlisted.

**Provision of Teachers.**—Even if India had all the finances necessary for launching a nation-wide educational programme, it will not be possible to establish schools all over the country at once. The essential requirement of any comprehensive development, the authors feel, is the provision of an adequate number of efficient teachers and of the necessary institutions for training them. The present training institutions

can do no more than replace the number of those who retire from the profession. Therefore, a vast increase in training institutions is required to provide the huge army of teachers required under the scheme.

India will require approximately 22 lakhs of teachers for all stages of school education. Of these 12 lakhs will be required for Pre-Primary and Junior Basic Schools, 6,20,000 for Senior Basic Schools and 3,62,000 for High Schools.

India will require ultimately over 2,000,000 non-graduate teachers and 1,80,000 graduates for High Schools, and new Training Schools and Colleges must be provided to meet this need. Suitable pupils from High Schools must be picked—particularly from Girls' High Schools. No fees should be charged and poor students should be helped liberally. Teachers, especially those in remote rural areas, should be able to take refresher courses.

The rate at which trained teachers can be produced, the Board believes, is the factor on which the entire development programme will depend. The first five years will have to be devoted to opening training centres and from the sixth year onward a gradual flow of teachers will be available. It is calculated that the 22 lakhs of teachers will be available in the 39th year of this expansion scheme.

It is estimated that the cost per teacher under training will be Rs. 250/- per year. All tuition will be free. It is also assumed that 30% of the trainees will be able to meet their maintenance charges. The total cost of training 22 lakhs of teachers will be 1'60 crores spread over a period of 35 years or an average of 4'36 lakhs a year.

**School Medical Services and Physical Education.**—On the subject of School Services and Physical Education, Mr. Sargent takes his stand on the findings of a joint Committee appointed in 1941 by the Central Advisory Boards of Health and Education. The medical inspection of children is of little value unless linked up with the treat-

ment of defects discovered and arrangements for following up cases where necessary. The provision of mid-day meals in schools is a step towards combating malnutrition, while better personal hygiene can be taught both by example and precept in schools. Physical training should be given to all children. The Scheme calculates that India's school-going population will need 7,500 School Medical Officers and 15,000 Nurses to run an efficient School Medical Service.

*The Mentally and Physically Handicapped.*—So far, whatever has been done for the education of mentally and physically handicapped children in India has been almost always due to voluntary effort. Provision for them should, however, form part of the State system of education. As far as possible, handicapped children should be trained in ordinary schools; resort to special schools should be limited to cases where it is essential. The blind and the deaf need special educational arrangements and special teachers. The handicapped should always be trained for remunerative employment and an effort should be made to find such employment for them.

*National Youth Movement.*—A National Youth Movement to provide recreative and social activities for young people, especially those between the ages of 14 and 20 who are no longer in schools, should be set up. This movement should not try to supersede existing organisations, but should co-ordinate their activities and extend their range.

*Employment Bureaux.*—Employment Bureaux under the control of the Education Departments and staffed by trained experts with experience of teaching and of industrial conditions should be maintained in the Provinces. They are specially necessary in India because of the restricted openings at the moment for those leaving all types of schools; Universities should preferably have their own Employment Bureaux.

*Administration.*—As regards educational administration the main recommendations of the Report are as follows:—

(a) The Provinces should remain the main units for educational administration except in regard to University and higher technical education, the activities of which should be co-ordinated on an all-India basis.

(b) In the event of the Indian States taking part in educational development on an all-India scale it may be necessary, in order to form economic educational units, to group the smaller ones or attach them to large States or contiguous Provinces.

(c) A national system of education will require much closer co-operation, financial and otherwise, between the Central and Provincial Governments.

(d) Provincial Governments should be left to make such changes in their administrative arrangements as the carrying out of education developments on the scale contemplated may require. Experience, however, suggests that they would be well advised to resume all educational powers from local bodies, except where these are functioning efficiently.

(e) In order to enlist local interest in education, School Managing Bodies, School Boards and District Education Committees may be constituted, if and when sufficient people of the right type are available to serve on them. An Education Advisory Board for the entire Province may be desirable.

(f) A strong Education Department will be required at the Centre, and in this connection the scope and functions of the Central Advisory Board should be enlarged.

(g) Provision has been made under each separate branch of education for the cost of administration which may be estimated at 5 per cent of the gross annual expenditure.

*Financial Aspects of the Scheme.*—Estimates of the cost of education are based on pre-war standards both in regard to the population and the cost of living. It will be seen that a national system of education as proposed in the Sargent Scheme, when fully working will cost Rs. 312 crores

per year. In 1940-41 total expenditure on education throughout India on all stages of education amounted to Rs. 30 crores, of which Rs. 17½ crores came from public funds. The Scheme, however, recommends that the amount at present spent on education, namely Rs. 30 crores should be regarded as a reserve fund towards meeting the cost, in part at any rate, of providing for the prospective increase in population during the period which must elapse before a national system is in full operation.

The Scheme is spread over a period of 40 years of 8 stages of 5 years each. The first 5 years are to be devoted to planning, propaganda and the provision of institutions necessary for the training of teachers.

The net recurring cost of education after the 40th year will be Rs. 312 crores per annum.

The total expenditure involved in the Scheme amounts to a figure which will render necessary a drastic reconsideration of the whole basis on which education is financed. Any re-allocation of the financial burden between the Centre and the Provinces should also have regard to the variation in the revenue-producing capacity of different areas. The Board is aware that their proposals involve large financial issues, but they urge that the necessary money must be obtained out of current revenues and, if necessary, out of loans or capital balances available. It is also possible that substantial sums in possession of religious bodies may be utilized for education. The great bulk of expenditure, however, should only be met from expanded revenue. If India wants a proper system of education, the Board says, she will have to follow the practice of other countries—that of paying for it.

*II. Criticisms Examined.*—The Scheme has been discussed in the press and on the platform and looked at from various points of view; we are, therefore, now in a position to briefly state and examine a few typical criticisms.

*Costs Too Much.*—One of the most popular criticisms is that regarding the cost. There are many who think that the sum of Rs. 312 crores of rupees proposed to be expended annually, 40 years hence, is too much and impossible for a poor country like India, where there are many different aspects of uplift demanding attention urgently and where the cost of education to-day is 30 crores or about 1/10th of that. This criticism has been met to some extent by the Board. They point out that the expenditure turns round the increased pay-scales which must be paid to the 2 million teachers, who will have to be employed and they are not pessimistic about finding the money. They say “the expenditure proposed is admittedly heavy but the experience of war suggests that when a paramount necessity can be established, the money required to meet it can and will be found. It is for India to decide whether the time has arrived when a national educational system is a paramount necessity.” Speaking before the Pilgrim Society, not long before his departure for India Lord Wavell said, “It has always seemed to me a curious fact that money is forthcoming in any quantity for a war but that no nation has ever yet produced the money on the same scale to fight the evils of peace—viz. poverty, lack of education, unemployment, ill health. When we are prepared to spend our money and our efforts as freely for education as we do now against Hitler and we pay our school masters at a higher rate . . . . . we shall really be making progress.” The war has certainly shown that there is no limit to the amount of money that can be raised from the people for a purpose regarded as urgent and vital by those ruling over them. All the more so will it be if it is the people’s Government. Even at about 312 crores the cost of education per pupil will be, 40 years hence, a little over Rs. 5/- as against Britain’s pre-war Rs. 32/-. It might also be pointed out that the subject of educational finance cannot be treated in isolation, for it is in-

timately bound up with developments, industrial, commercial, and agricultural, which cannot be overlooked. The consequent increased revenues and earning capacity should not be forgotten. It should be possible also to convert the Basic Schools' handicrafts—some of them at any rate—into cash and to economise here and there. But on the other hand, as it was expressed at a meeting not long ago, it is not unlikely that the India of the future might not be content with what has been provided in this Scheme. She might want a navy, an army and an air force of her own and for these, training centres and military preparatory schools would be necessary. Technological institutions of a higher grade might be needed for the expansion in industries, factories, railways, aviation, etc. Such an India, it was said, would have to spend much more than 312 crores and would be prepared to do so. In any case it is for politicians and statesmen to find the money. As educationists it is our duty to recognise that the plan is not utopian and to demand, as the *Manchester Guardian* reports Parliament to have done recently, "that this time the educational cup shall not be dashed from the children's lips."

*40-50 Years' Period.*—Another criticism, not less popular, comes from those who refer to the 40-year period laid down for the completion of the Scheme as being too long. Even Sir R. M. Statham, a member of the Board and Director of Public Instruction, Madras, in a dissenting note says: "any suggestion both in regard to expenditure and policy which may take effect only 40 or 50 years hence is in grave danger of being put on one side and neglected." Several have pointed to the fact that Russia was able to make a whole nation literate in less than 20 years. The reason given by the Board for needing 40 years is that "progress cannot outstrip the supply of teachers." Those intent on reaching the goal sooner, and not foregoing the stimulus and challenge that comes from a less distant goal, suggest

that ideal methods of teaching, by ideally qualified agents, in ideal circumstances and surroundings would be ideal indeed, if there were no urgency, but they say that the necessity and the urgency being what they are from the point of view of the nation, India should follow in the footsteps of Britain, Russia, Japan, etc., and try and achieve maximum progress in minimum time and with whatever means are available—while, of course all the while, working up to better standards in teaching qualifications and performance. This impatience is exhibited specially by the educationally backward communities. They appreciate the fact that such big achievements must take time; but so keen are they on the goal set up by the Board that they would like to see it reached sooner and anyhow. They would say, as the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University has said in this connection, "those who cannot get cake must live on bread." Large classes and one-teacher schools are still not uncommon in Britain and, as a temporary measure, might be tolerated in India too. It has been mentioned also by certain members of the Board that visual education has not received adequate attention and that the radio, the magic lantern, the cinema and the gramophone could be employed to assist in expediting progress in instructing the young and the adult in training the teachers. This line of thinking, being evidence of genuine and useful enthusiasm, deserves sympathetic exploration and it was well, therefore, that Sir Jogendra Singh, Chairman of the Central Advisory Board, in his opening remarks on the recent Karachi Meeting of the Board, referred to this criticism and made it clear that the provinces may shorten the period of achievement if they wished.

*Goal: Britain's Pre-war Standard.*—Some critics, surprisingly few, have called attention to the fact that the Report says: "the Board have aimed at a standard comparable with that already attained in Great Britain and other Western countries

before the war." They say, "if the goal to be pursued during the next forty years is to reach Britain's pre-war standard, is India going to be condemned to be for ever half a century behind the West? The rest of the world is not going to wait for us and so what about the tremendous lag?" This is a legitimate consideration and will have to be borne in mind by the Board and by provincial authorities. It is possible to argue that the Board had to keep some known and intelligible goal in view to work up to, and also that even pre-war Britain's standard appeared difficult enough to plan to reach in less than forty years, and that to aim at any thing much beyond that, might call for superhuman measures at this stage and estimates more astronomical. Also, it may be, as some have urged in reply, that the rate and amount of progress likely to be achieved in the next forty years will not be the same as that managed in the last four decades and that therefore the leeway to be made up by India may not be discouragingly stupendous. Some, like the Ministers of Education of Assam and Bengal, suggest that "the spread of progress envisaged in the report must at least be doubled, if not quadrupled, no matter if we have to resort to means and methods, as Russia did on emancipation from the Czarist regime." It is also conceivable that a national government may be able to find short cuts in methods and motive power and also step on the accelerator so much as to be able in 40 or 50 years to reach not only Britain's pre-war standard but also to catch up with her and the West. Those who believe that the pace planned by the Board is too slow and extravagant can set before themselves, their provinces and the country this farther goal to be achieved within the allotted 40 or 50 years.

*Scheme Foreign.*—The criticism which is sometimes levelled that the Scheme is western in character and has not on it the marks of Indian tradition, Indian genius and culture and therefore not to be welcomed, is

not well founded. For one thing, these terms, "western" and 'Indian' in an administrative matter like this are almost irrelevant. Besides there is nothing in the system which is anti-Indian and an all-embracing arrangement for educational expansion cannot but be good for India. Could a plan for providing technical institutions, commercial schools, adult education, increased facilities for University education, school medical services and physical education which are precisely what we have always longed for, be regarded as 'unnational'? Could a scheme for establishing youth organizations, recreational facilities, vocational guidance clinics, educational institutions for the handicapped, employment bureaux for those who leave school and college, and more facilities for the training of teachers and better and humane scales of pay be accused of not being in the best interests of the country? And why must we regard the provision of high school education—technical and academic—for 1/5th of all children between the ages 12 and 17 and the guarantee of universal, free and compulsory primary education for all the children of the country between the years 6 and 14 at State cost, as not Indian but foreign? The criticism that the Scheme is not national appears to be based on the assumption that there is only one sense in which that word can be used. At present it is country-wide in its scope; and there is nothing intrinsic to prevent it from becoming sociologically and psychologically national.

*Nothing New.*—There are some who regard the scheme as "a mere glorified modification of the present system." Well, even if a motor car is a mere glorified modification of the bullock cart most people have no doubt as to their preference! The Board has said, as a matter of fact, that, "in their considered opinion it is inconceivable that within a reasonable period a really national system could be developed. Apart from the extremely slow progress which has been made before the war, the present system



does not provide the foundations on which an effective structure could be erected; in fact, much of the present rambling edifice will have to be scrapped in order that something better may be substituted. There is no half-way house between the present unsatisfactory position and the minimum provision which could be accepted as a national system. More revolutionary language it would be difficult to formulate and has not India always asked for such a comprehensive reform? How can she turn it down now just because it comes from Delhi and walk away? Which reminds us of a story: As the Vicar started to go up the front steps of his church, a stately old lady stopped him with the request, "Would you do me a favour?" "Certainly, madam," replied the Vicar. "Then please help me up these steps." Arriving at the top, she paused for breath. Then she asked: "Can you tell me who is preaching to-day?" "Why—er—the Vicar is." "Then", she continued, will you do me another favour and help me down again?"

*Constitutional Set Back.*—The Scheme has also been criticised for favouring centralisation at the expense of provincial autonomy and therefore putting back the clock of constitutional progress. Here again we should not be deceived by mere words and phrases like centralisation and autonomy. There are different degrees and kinds of centralisation. Moreover, the problem is not peculiar to India. In countries like the United States it has been in existence and no major tragedies have been recorded. Provinces are not rich enough to bear all the educational expenditure out of their own revenues. The Central Government must and can come to their aid. The whole system of "grants-in-aid" no doubt bristles with difficulties as regards the relation between the body giving the aid and the body receiving it, but they are not insuperable. The provinces should gain at least as much, perhaps, in the way of stimulation, encouragement and uniform standards as

aided schools do from Departmental Control!

Besides, the fact that Ministers, Advisers, and Directors of Public Instruction of most of the provinces, whom it concerns most, and who understand the implications have approved and supported this move, suggests that they believe that provincial autonomy in the field of education has not been an unmixed blessing, that it has not always resulted in encouraging "experiment, or provincial variations which would add to the richness of Indian education." Evidently they are convinced that experimentation will not be seriously impeded and that for "the purpose of co-ordination, maintenance of uniform and adequate standards, prevention of overlapping" and stimulation to rapid progress, it is necessary to sacrifice a little prestige and independence. World experience has shown how most difficulties of this nature have been overcome. We can also overcome them provided we are not sentimentally attached to terms like "autonomy".

*Area by Area Extension.*—Objection has been raised also against the proposal to introduce free and compulsory education in certain selected areas during the different five year periods and not all over the province at one and the same time. It is maintained first of all that it would be difficult to choose certain areas in preference to others for prior cultivation and that if the area-by-area method should be adopted, these certain areas would necessarily steal a march over the rest and that therefore the plan would create or even widen the gulf between different parts or regions. The creation or widening of the disparity between areas is objected to particularly by certain backward communities who fear that the procedure recommended might, so far from enabling them to catch up with the advanced communities, result only in making their plight worse and for a longer period. They suggest starting free and compulsory education everywhere simultaneously and

adding on a class each year in all the different schools located in the different parts.

While admitting the force of the argument it might be pointed out that as matters are and have been such disparity of facilities has almost always existed unprotected between areas and even when facilities have been available in any particular area, certain communities have not availed themselves of them and do not do so even now. Why then complain now? And further, how can it be assumed that the areas selected first would not include the backward ones? A dispassionate view has got to be taken where a nation-wide programme has to be implemented. Besides going from theory to the field of practicability, obviously it would be very much more difficult and expensive to find teachers and equipment and buildings simultaneously for so many more schools scattered all over the country and also that this way, there would be no chance of profiting by the experience of other places avoiding wasteful practices. It might be assumed that the best care would be taken to see that the choice of the areas will be made in such a way as not to jeopardise the interest of any section or community and that in the body responsible for the making of the choice all sects and interests would be represented. This is undoubtedly a matter which calls for the most careful handling and sympathetic understanding.

*Stage and Methods of Selection.*—Doubt has been expressed also regarding the soundness of having to choose and assign pupils at the tender age of 11 plus to either the senior basic (middle) school or the high school according to their abilities, aptitudes and general promise. Some who claim to know Indian school children first-hand say that no matter what American and British text books proclaim, it is difficult and risky to select Indian pupils at that early stage for one line or another and that 13 or 14 would be a safer age for so vital a choice. Time and experience alone can decide the value and validity of diversion at the stage announced.

Fortunately, however, pupils can move from one type of school to another should such a transfer be indicated.

Similarly, the methods proposed for selection have been viewed with suspicion by many. These are for the most part persons not familiar with the progress made in the field of intelligence, vocational and aptitude tests. At any rate it may be asserted safely that such a method would be more appropriate than the present haphazard principle that whoever has money and influence shall rise high and what is worse, get pushed up on the academic ladder. Besides, the Scheme does not propose to use merely the psychological tests it recognises, and rightly, the need for taking into consideration educational achievements, parents' desires, teachers' reports, etc. And it is no objection to say that we do not have proper tests and the required number of trained psychologists to administer them and to interpret their results. Once the Scheme has been adopted such initial difficulties can be easily met.

In the making of the selection special care will have to be taken to see that the pupils coming from a backward home environment are not handicapped by being tested along with the more fortunate. Similarly, it will be necessary to ensure as far as possible that communal and caste prejudices and other vested interests do not interfere with the fair working of the system of selection of pupils. This possibility cannot be an objection for the simple reason that such dangers will always be present in any system. Such corruption can be minimised only by raising the standard of public morality.

*Rural Conditions and Religion Ignored.*—Critics have also called attention to certain matters not dealt with by the Board. Those who have missed reference in the Scheme to agriculture and rural conditions and those who were disappointed that religious education had not been considered need not feel disheartened. It is not generally known

that as a matter of fact, three committees set up by the Board are still working—one on religious education, another on agricultural education, a third on the administrative changes necessary for a comprehensive system of education. A meeting of the Committee considering the service conditions of University teachers has just concluded. The reports of all these committees will supplement the existing plan in due course. The Scheme is a growing one responsive to popular needs and demands.

*Women's Education Omitted.*—Some have pointed out that a section should have been given to Women's Education. While they agree with the authors that 'Whatever is needed for boys and men, not less will be required for girls and women' they insist that the type of education for the majority of girls and women should be adapted more definitely to suit their most certain vocation. They urge that the principle should be 'to each according to his need', while they accept the equal quantitative provision promised. The point of view has been expressed by women's representatives and by the Madras D. P. I. that 'for many decades to come the education of girls will, in a sense, still have to be treated as a special problem and the question of separate schools, separate curricula, provision of women teachers, co-education, etc., will for a long time require the special attention of all educationists in India. This matter appears to need further consideration.

*No Provision for Research.*—A few, deplorably few, have noticed the absence of any provision for educational research. Everywhere else and in every other field research is held to be indispensable and the only guarantee that the money spent is spent well. What proof is there that wrong methods are not being followed and that wasteful procedures are not being adopted? How can one be sure that the most economical means and agencies are being utilized? Research holds the answer. It is ruinous financially and in every other way to try to get on

as though darkness were no handicap and ignorance no drawback. As the April issue of the *Journal of Education and Psychology*, Baroda, puts it, "When enormous sums of money are to be spent on education there is the imperative responsibility to ensure that effective and economic use is made of the money. The rules and regulations contained in the codes of Education Departments or the vigilance of the audit and Accounts Departments would not ensure the proper audit of educational expenditure. The effectiveness of such an expenditure is directly proportional to the efficacy of educational methods and practices . . . All this would mean extensive work to be undertaken by institutions meant for research and the collection and co-ordination of the findings. In the searchlight of these findings many of our educational institutions and widely accepted theories would be found to be suffering from defect and decay. The diagnosis of the defects is the function of educational research. Their substitution by effective structures is also its job. This would save a good deal of wastage that is inevitable in our trial and error methods of educational planning and reconstruction". It seems penny wise and pound foolish not to have Bureaus of Research and Counsel in every state and province and a well staffed and adequately equipped one at the centre able to assist the parts with advice, information and encouragement.

*Matters to be Included.*—Critics have also drawn attention to the fact that adequate provision does not seem to have been made to meet the growth in population that there must be in forty years. While this may be conceded, it must be added that this blue print drawn up now is not expected to be followed blindly and irrespective of altered circumstances. Some have stressed the fact that the place of *private enterprise* and sectarian schools in a free and compulsory system of education has not been made quite clear. It has also been pointed out that the *medium of education in regional universities* has not been indicated. The critics urge that the

wastage of energy and time in mastering a foreign language for University work is so appalling that the Scheme must take this question up seriously. It is realised that unless provincial boundaries are generally based on language areas this will be difficult of achievement. The authors have been at pains to get the public to realise that their aim has been 'to indicate the main lines which development should follow rather than to prescribe any uniform or detailed plan'. It must be presumed that periodically, changing conditions and all the relevant factors will be discussed and therefore there is no need for any sense of frustration or annoyance at this stage. Suggestions should be passed on to the proper quarters, as the Board have asked for constructive criticism. They realise that their Report is not a revelation delivered once and for all and that there is room for improvement. Achieving that improvement without delaying the inauguration of the Scheme should be regarded as evidence of practical idealism.

*Report an Alternative to Action.*—There are many people these days, an increasing number, who do not believe that the Scheme will be put into effect. Like many recommendations made by Royal Commission and other investigating bodies, this excellent Scheme also, they suspect, will be consigned to the archives of historical libraries. They say there has been much talk about it in England and America as well as in India, but an ominous silence generally in quarters competent to decide.

On a point of information, however, it should be mentioned here that the Central Advisory Board's Report has now been submitted to the Post War Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council and that Sir Ardeshir Dalal, the Development Member, stated the other day to the Press that the Sargent Scheme was being considered by him. More recently he announced at the General Policy Committee that 'once the plans of the Centre as well as of the various Provinces are ready and the

existing and potential financial resources of both have been fully explored, it would be possible to draw up a co-ordinated plan with definite targets.' Certain Provincial Governments have appointed Special Officers and Special Committees to draw up programmes and estimates. Perhaps when the Central Government give the provinces an idea of what financial contributions they may count on, the Scheme will be brought into general operation. It should be remembered also that the Scheme has been sponsored by the Central Advisory Board, a Board set up by the Government of India itself. Probably it is not common knowledge that it consists of Sir Jogendra Singh, who, as Member for Education on the Viceroy's Council, is its Chairman, and Mr. John Sargent who as Educational Adviser to the Government of India, is the prime mover and that it has not only representatives of the Inter-University Board, the Legislative Assembly, the Indian States, etc., but also the Education Ministers or Advisers of all the Provinces and all the Provincial Directors of Public Instruction. It is hardly likely that such a Board would waste its members' time or the time of its several Committees discussing what was not going to matter in the end. It is also unlikely that the Central Government would treat the recommendations of so weighty a body with anything other than respect.

*Urge Adoption, then Modification.*—The High Commissioner for India speaking about this subject at a recent meeting of the Royal Empire Society said: 'In spite of the magnitude of the task and the prodigious difficulties to be overcome, every effort should be made now to prepare the ground for the establishment of such a Scheme of Education. It is only with a people educated to their social and political responsibilities that India can play her full part with other friendly nations in the rebuilding of a peaceful and prosperous world after the War.'

Aware of the rapid progress that the Education Bill was making in England and of how even during the war Britain was

going to implement the Scheme, Mr. Sargent addressing the East India Association some months ago said, 'I am old enough in Government service to realise that almost anybody who is not mentally defective, and some of those who are, can produce a report of some kind. What matters, and what is even more difficult in India than elsewhere, is to translate the report into action. My experience in India has shown me that a

report is too often treated as an alternative to action.' If that tragedy is not to overtake this bold piece of constructive and comprehensive planning, attention should be increasingly paid these days by those keen on educational progress in India to getting the Scheme put seriously into effect without needless delay, and to shaping it steadily, in the light of experience, nearer to the heart's desire.

## Maternity and Child Welfare\*

V. VENKATA RAO

India has not yet realised the impact of maternal mortality on culture and population though hundreds of her neglected and badly treated mothers die in childbirth every year. Studying the problem with special reference to the Madras Municipal Areas the writer reveals various factors which are generally bringing about the death of mothers and children and points out the need for comprehensive Maternity and Child Welfare Services.

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**A**MONGST social services, maternity and child welfare service is one of the most important. Child bearing is a function which imposes a heavy and serious strain on the health of women. Although it is impossible to eliminate pain and discomfort resulting from child bearing, they can be mitigated by the provision of maternity services. For a woman about to become a mother, the State must offer entirely free of charge, ante-natal examination and advice, arrangements for confinement in a maternity hospital and medical care during the intra-natal period followed by post-natal examination and advice<sup>1</sup>.

*Historical Background.*—The initiative in this matter was first taken by the Govern-

ment in 1875 when it issued orders to the municipal councils directing them to employ a trained midwife for the training of dais. Later on, that is during the period 1875-95 orders were given directing the councils to construct hut pavilions for lying-in cases and attach them to hospitals and dispensaries having women's wards. It does not appear that the orders of the Government produced any effect. Dais were not trained and the midwifery profession passed into the hands of barber midwives<sup>2</sup>.

cedence in tram cars and a sheltered place in them; service in shop without waiting in queue; a supplementary food ration; lighter work in the office or shop in which she is employed; two months rest without loss of wages. It is the duty of the doctor to advise her when she should cease work." When time for confinement arrives she goes to a maternity hospital which is well equipped. "Our observation of the Soviet arrangement for the medical and hygienic care of mothers filled us with admiration and with wonder that such good work should be undertaken and successfully accomplished in the period when the finances of the country are at a low ebb. The maternity and child welfare institutions and the arrangements seen by us gave the impression that they were nowhere stinted or restricted because of financial stress." pp. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Special Committee on Maternity and Child Welfare Work in India. 1938.

\* The writer is grateful to Dr. (Miss) S. Rajeswari. M.B., B.S., D.G.O., of the Maternity Hospital, Madras, for making some useful suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Webb.—Soviet Communism. A New Civilization. Vol. II. Chapter 2.

See also Kingsbury & Newsholme.—Red Medicine. "A remarkable fact is", write the authors of Red Medicine, "that nearly every pregnant woman comes under medical supervision at an early stage . . . and if the patient does not attend regularly the patient is visited by a nurse at home. . . . On attending the pre-natal centre the expectant mother receives a card which entitles her to the right of pre-

In 1916 the Surgeon-General, Major Bannerman investigated into the matter and found that the number of salaried midwives employed by the municipal councils was thoroughly insufficient. He therefore recommended to the Government the opening of centres for the training of midwives. The Government accepted the suggestion of the Surgeon-General and enquired of the councils whether they were prepared to depute their candidates for training as midwives. Twenty-seven councils expressed their willingness to depute stipendiary pupils for midwifery training. For some reason or other nothing came of this effort.

In 1920 the position was thus unsatisfactory. This attracted the attention of the Financial Relations Committee. They found that out of the 73 councils, as many as 10 councils did not employ a single midwife; in 11 councils the number of labour cases conducted by the municipal midwives did not exceed 10 per cent of the registered births; and in 21 councils it did not exceed 20 per cent. The Committee therefore recommended that the councils should first ascertain "whether there are enough qualified midwives to attend to all who need their help and if the number is inadequate", the deficiency should be made good either by employing additional midwives or by arranging with health associations and other agencies engaged in the work to provide such staff as may be necessary; that training centres should be established in each district for the training of midwives; that the pay of the midwives should be standardized and that the cost of training should be borne by the Government.<sup>3</sup>

The Government accepted the recommendations of the Committee and expressed their willingness to start training centres at Salem, Calicut, Madura, Tanjore and Guntur, provided sufficient number of candidates were forthcoming. They further suggested to the councils the constitution of a permanent Maternity and Child Welfare Com-

mittee for the formulation of a constructive programme and for the expansion of maternity relief. The councils were requested to report to the Government the number of midwives they required. As usual most of the councils made no response to the suggestions made by the Government and nothing came of this effort.

In 1923, the Government once again took the initiative. Col. Russel, the then Director of Public Health, investigated into this matter and his investigations revealed the fact that infantile mortality was "lamentably high." In 1922 the rate was 329·8 in Bezwada, 352·8 in Coimbatore and 206·3 in Madura per 1000 live-births, while in Britain it was 80 and in Australia and New Zealand 60 and 80 respectively. Secondly, the maternal mortality also was considerably higher than in Britain. Col. Russel estimated that on the average, 13·5 out of every 1000 women that took to childbed died. In addition to this enormous death-roll—enormous because the corresponding figure for Britain was 4·7 per 1000 births—a large number of women were either invalidated or damaged beyond cure. The invalidism or the death of the mother in its turn caused the death of the child. Thus higher maternal mortality resulted in higher infantile mortality.

Col. Russel came to the conclusion that the high mortality both among women and children was due to the absence of any kind of ante-natal treatment and skilled assistance at the time of delivery and care during the post-natal period. A great majority of the labour cases were conducted by barber midwives.<sup>4</sup> "Their ignorance of hygiene or even of cleanliness are stupendous. . . . Their methods and the instruments used by them and the medicaments given to both the mother and child are so very revolting that no language sufficiently strong can be used to condemn them."

Col. Russel, therefore, recommended that

<sup>4</sup> It was estimated that barber midwives managed 10 lakhs of labour cases in this province in 1941.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum, L. S. G. 7th January 1921.

the barber midwife system should be brought to an end; that only trained midwives should be employed for conducting labour cases; that the midwives carrying on private practice should be registered and that the un-registered midwives should be prohibited from conducting labour cases; that the supervision of the midwives should be entrusted to a woman medical officer or to the local medical officer; that each council should form a committee to look after the maternity services and to prepare schemes for the provision of maternity services. He further suggested that the schemes should be given effect to within a fixed period, and that ante-natal and post-natal and child welfare centres should be established; that maternity wards and children's hospitals should be constructed; and that health visitors should be appointed to visit the expectant mothers.

While communicating the results of the investigation of Col. Russel to the municipal councils, the Government informed them that they "as the responsible custodians of public health of the areas within their respective jurisdictions, will lose no time in formulating and carrying into effect practical measures on the lines set forth" by the Director of Public Health. They were also requested to report the action taken by them on the suggestions made by Russel.<sup>5</sup>

To this communication forty-nine of the councils replied. Some promised to start maternity and child welfare centres; some promised to improve the existing conditions; and some constituted committees 'consisting of all meals' for the preparation of maternity schemes. However, a great majority of the councils pleaded inability to do anything in view of their financial position.<sup>6</sup> Practically, therefore, nothing came of this endeavour.

In 1923 the Government offered to train, at their own expense, candidates deputed by the councils, as health visitors, provided the

councils were prepared to appoint them on a monthly salary of Rs. 60.<sup>7</sup> The councils did not avail themselves of the offer and the Government dropped the proposal.<sup>8</sup> Again in 1929 the Government prepared a scheme for the training of health visitors. The scheme contemplated the establishment of a school to be managed by a committee, consisting among others, the Surgeon-General to the Government, as President, the Director of Public Health, the Superintendent of the Maternity Hospital the Principal of the Queen Mary's College and the Assistant Directress of Public Health. The scheme was to be financed by the Government. It was circulated to all the municipal councils and they were asked to inform the Government whether they were willing to employ health visitors at all and if so the number of health visitors they required and the salary they were prepared to pay.<sup>9</sup> As usual the response of the councils 'was not enthusiastic', and the scheme had to be dropped. But the Government promised to pay to the Indian Red Cross Society, Madras Branch, a non-recurring grant of Rs. 15,000 for 1930-31 and a recurring grant of Rs. 10,600 per annum in support of the school which they had already started for the training of health visitors. Further, the Society was also given a certain amount of administrative control over the municipal maternity and child welfare centres. The municipal councils had to apply to the Government for grant for the construction of maternity centres through the Society and grants from the provincial funds were paid to the councils through the Society.<sup>10</sup> This dyarchical arrangement was not conducive to the better administration of the service. For, there were two persons in charge of one and the same service, the Society and the Director of Public Health, and the arrangement produced friction between the Society on the one hand and the Director of Public Health and the councils

<sup>5</sup> G. O. No. 1437, Ph. 28-8-1923.

<sup>6</sup> Annual Report of the Director of Public Health, 1923.

<sup>7</sup> Memo. No. 25715, Ph. 15-11-1923.

<sup>8</sup> G. O. No. Mis. 18, Ph. 4-1-1924.

<sup>9</sup> Memo No. 39846, Ph. 25-1-1929.

<sup>10</sup> G. O. No. 48, Ph. 9-1-1931.

on the other. The Director therefore suggested in the interest of the service that complete control over these institutions should be vested in his hands. The Government accepted his suggestion and since 1932 grants are being paid through the Director and all the applications for grants should be submitted through the Director.<sup>11</sup> At present the Director should be consulted in drawing up schemes relating to maternity and child welfare.<sup>12</sup> The Director is assisted in this respect by the Assistant Directress, Maternity and Child Welfare, which office was created in 1930. It must be said to the credit of this province that it was the first in the country to appoint a woman medical officer to be in charge of maternity and child welfare centres.

The Red Cross Society closed down the school for the training of health visitors in 1938 and the Government took over the management of the institution.<sup>13</sup> Since 1938 the Training School for Health Visitors is being managed by Government.

*Organisation of Personnel and Functions.*—

The administrative organisation for maternity relief consists of the Health Officer, Woman Medical Officer, Health Visitor and Midwives. The Health Officer is in charge of the general administration. The Woman Medical Officer is in charge of the health visitors and midwives.<sup>14</sup> Where there is no Health Officer, the Commissioner of the municipality is in charge of the administration and where there is no woman medical officer, the Health Officer is in immediate charge of the health visitors and midwives.

As regards functions the woman medical officer must supervise the work of the health visitor and midwives. She should refer abnormal and complicated cases to the maternity hospital for treatment. She should hold clinics regularly every week at the

maternity centre for the ante-natal and nursing mothers; she should arrange health instructions in girl schools; she should collect the untrained midwives for instruction and training.

The duties of a health visitor are defined by the woman medical officer. Every health visitor is given the charge of a particular area. Her main functions are to visit the pregnant women and infants living within her jurisdiction and instruct them on the sanitary conditions to be observed. She should collect as many as possible of the expectant mothers for instruction by the woman medical officer. She should see that the instructions given by the woman medical officer are being observed by the patients at home. She must assist the midwives in conducting difficult cases. She may pay a visit to the girls schools and talk to the older girls on health matters.

The midwife is the foundation of all maternity activities. For a great majority of the labour cases, the assistance of a doctor or a health visitor is not required; but not so as regards the midwife who is an indispensable element. Usually she is given the charge of a particular area and she must reside within that area at a place accessible to all. A board must be hung in front of her house informing the public that her professional services are available to the public free of cost. She should make a house to house visit and register all ante-natal cases, collect as many of these cases as possible for instruction by the woman medical officer on the day when she holds the clinics; she should attend to labour cases; and finally she must visit the mothers for at least ten days after delivery.<sup>15</sup>

From the above it is evident that every maternity centre is intended to perform three functions, ante-natal, intra-natal and post-natal. Ante-natal care has assumed increasing importance in recent times because, efficient ante-natal care is resulting in the reduction of maternal mortality. Under ideal

<sup>11</sup> G. O. No. 1375, Ph. 27-6-1932.

<sup>12</sup> G. O. No. 2514, Ph. 29-10-1934.

<sup>13</sup> G. O. No. 2001, Ph. 31-5-1938.

<sup>14</sup> D.P.H. Office. Letter No. 233-I, M, dated 2-3-1934.

<sup>15</sup> D.P.H. Office Letter No. 1022 dated 3-9-1926.



conditions every pregnant woman must be visited by a health visitor or a midwife during the 16th week of pregnancy and persuaded to visit the clinic.<sup>16</sup> At this visit a full medical and obstetrical history of the patient should be taken and if she is prepared for a physical examination it should also be taken. The physical examination includes the examination of urine, teeth and breasts, taking of the pelvic measurements and noting the blood pressure. The question of examination of the vaginal canal should be left to the discretion of the medical officer.<sup>17</sup>

After the examination is over the health visitor should visit the patient to note the hygienic conditions in which she is living and if they are unsatisfactory she should advise the patient as to the improvements that should be made. She should also arrange the date of her next visit.

From this time onwards the patient should be examined every month till the 28th week of pregnancy. From the 28th week till the 36th week the examination should be fortnightly and from the 36th week till the date of confinement it should be weekly. Between the 32nd and 36th week a special examination of the patient should be conducted to ascertain the presentation of foetus, the relation of head to pelvis and the condition of the teeth of the patient for, bad teeth have deleterious effect upon the health of the woman and of her forthcoming baby. During the 36th week the uterine height must be taken, the foetal heart must be listened to and the urine must be examined. Should the midwife or the health visitor attending on her notice any complication or abnormality it should be reported at once to the medical officer. Further, arrangements made for confinement should be enquired into and if no arrangements have been made she should be advised to do so without delay

and the midwife should follow her and see that arrangements are made according to the instructions given by the medical officer.

Thus the function of an ante-natal clinic is fundamentally an educational one.<sup>18</sup> By careful examination, observation and treatment during the ante-natal period, maternity is rendered safer, less burdensome, less disabling. Systematic ante-natal examination can almost completely eliminate eclampsia; by the regular testing of urine and the taking of blood pressure, toxemia and anemia are easily recognised and treated; by physical examination at stated intervals the pelvic disorders and abnormal presentations are recognised and corrected;<sup>19</sup> and the size of the head to the brim of the pelvis is noted. Therefore, the main purpose of an ante-natal clinic is to protect the expectant mothers from the well recognised perils and difficulties of pregnancy and to assure the unborn baby the best possible voyage from the intra-uterine life into this mortal world. Experience has shown that unless ante-natal supervision is adequate and efficient safe delivery cannot be assured.<sup>20</sup>

As soon as the time arrives for confinement, arrangements should be made for delivery either at a maternity hospital or at home. If delivery is to take place at home it should be seen that "confinement is not undertaken in an entirely unsuitable environment; such anti-septic and aseptic precautions as are generally necessary should be taken". Under ideal conditions a doctor and a midwife should be available and should bring to the case a fair knowledge and skill; should any complications arise such facilities as transport and well-equipped maternity hospitals should be available; and if the case requires the assistance of a second doctor

<sup>18</sup> Newman,—The Building of a Nation's Health, pp. 210-15.

<sup>19</sup> Interim Report of the Departmental Committee of the Ministry of Public Health on Maternal Mortality and Morbidity. (England) p. 62.

<sup>20</sup> Final Report of the Departmental Committee of the Ministry of Public Health on Maternal Mortality and Morbidity, 1932. p. 144.

<sup>16</sup> In some of the western countries every woman is compelled by law to notify her pregnancy to the proper authority so that they may take adequate measures to look after her health. Ordinarily, ante-natal advice is sought in the later half of pregnancy.

<sup>17</sup> A. L. Mudaliar. Clinical Obstetrics. Chapter ix.

Year		Number of centres		Medical women available		Health Visitors	Midwives		Maternity beds available	
		Total	Municipal	Total	Per 1000 births		Total	Per 1000	Total	Per 1000 births
1930	...	65	—	149	1.14	1	512	3.92	604	4.62
1931	...	72	40	137	1.20	35	671	4.9	759	6.6
1937	...	82	65	115	0.72	44	673	4.22	985	6.16
1941	...	115	97	226	1.33	53	892	5.2	1583	9.3

to act as anaesthetist, there should be one.<sup>21</sup>

It should be remembered that the intra-natal care is as important as ante-natal care. If proper care is not taken during this period all the good work done during the ante-natal period will be of no avail.

After delivery for at least ten days, the mother should be visited and carefully nursed to prevent post-natal infection. Further, the patient should be examined to correct any bad effects of pregnancy or delivery. Thus the provision of ante-natal, intra-natal and post-natal treatment as detailed above constitutes a comprehensive programme of maternity hygiene and if the maternity relief is to be effective these services should be available to every one about to become a mother.

To what extent are these services provided and how far are they efficient? It may be said without fear of contradiction that a great majority of pregnant women do not at all receive any kind of ante-natal treatment. The table given at the top of this page illustrates the contention.

From the figures given it is evident that some progress was made during the period under review. In 1920 there were practically no maternity centres, no health visitors and no women medical officers in charge of maternity centres. In 1941 the position was different when we had them all. But their number was hopelessly inadequate. There were only 1.33 medical women, 5.2 midwives and 9.3 maternity beds for every 1,000 births and the total expenditure on the maternity services in all the councils was Rs. 4,23,846. The total number

of live births registered was 1,69,289 and the total number of still births was 7,807. On the average Rs. 2-6-3 was spent for every birth.<sup>22</sup> It is therefore evident that throughout the period of dyarchy the provision of maternity services was hopelessly inadequate.

*Maternal Mortality Rates.*—The inadequate provision of maternity services produced disastrous results. Statistics were collected for 22 municipal councils in 1925. In these places 43,477 women took to child bed and of these 747 died. In other words, the average maternal mortality rate per thousand births in all these councils was 17.5. Another investigation was carried out in Trichinopoly, Madura, Coimbatore and Madras. 7,324 confinements were analysed and the analysis revealed a death rate of 17.89 per thousand births. The average maternal mortality rate per 1,000 births for all the 82 councils during the years 1932 to 1941 was as follows :—

YEAR	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1941
RATE	13.7	13.5	14.2	13.8	12.42	12.67	12.68

Though the average rate did not exceed 15 per thousand births in any year, a comparative study of the maternal mortality rates obtaining in some of the councils goes to show that they were much higher than the average rates. For instance,<sup>23</sup> see table at the top of p. 34.

These examples show the different rates prevailing at different times and in different municipalities. We find even in 1941 that as many as 31.93 women out of every

<sup>22</sup> Annual Report of the Director of Public Health, 1941.

<sup>23</sup> Annual Report of the Director of Public Health, 1920-41.

<sup>21</sup> Interim Report, Op. Cit.

Name of the council	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1941
Ongole ... ..	42.49	21.94	29.9	20.94	12.84	21.13	20.55	24.89	15.29
Tanjore ... ..	34.47	29.91	11.7	21.8	18.44	24.20	26.47	20.84	19.32
Guntur ... ..	38.63	29.24	29.6	25.2	11.83	26.27	24.15	22.40	22.35
Villupuram ... ..	32.26	49.29	26.0	35.8	34.16	30.55	10.05	28.04	14.43
Negapatam ... ..	31.29	26.05	28.3	18.3	17.15	24.07	25.10	18.71	20.43
Chingulput ... ..	35.56	35.52	30.6	20.3	19.37	20.65	21.32	33.30	18.72
Tirupati ... ..	27.07	24.48	17.7	11.3	18.52	14.25	21.02	18.58	16.87
Palacole ... ..	27.59	22.17	16.9	28.0	28.77	15.73	14.43	25.84	22.29
Nellore ... ..	22.08	26.44	26.9	28.4	20.40	24.53	22.95	22.87	18.52

1,000 dying in child bed in Bellary. In the same year in six of the councils like Cuddapah, Chittoor and Narasaraopet the mortality rate was between 26 and 30; in 12 between 20 and 25; in 13 between 16 and 20 and in the remaining councils below 15. Compared with the maternal mortality rates obtaining in some of the foreign countries, the figures given disclose a deplorable state of affairs. For instance,<sup>24</sup>

Name of the country	1920	1924	1928
England and Wales ...	4.3	3.9	4.4
Switzerland... ..	4.3	3.9	4.4
New Zealand ... ..	6.5	5.6	4.9
Japan ... ..	3.5	3.1	2.8
Italy ... ..	2.8	3.2	2.8
Australia ... ..	5.0	5.5	6.0

*Reason for Variations.*—Why should there be any variation in the mortality rates? Various explanations have been offered such as race, environmental conditions, physiological differences and the prevailing marriage age. But Sir Arthur Newsholme is of opinion that the variations are chiefly due to the differences in maternal care. In other words, adequate ante-natal, intra-natal and

post-natal care largely determine the mortality rate. In the Scandinavian countries the maternal mortality rate is low because all the expectant mothers receive all the care at every stage mentioned above. Further, all the maternity services in those countries are well coordinated. Above all the physique of the women of those countries is excellent and consequently pelvic disorders are a rare event. But the position in this province, nay, in this country, is the reverse.

*Causes of Maternal Mortality.*—The causes of maternal deaths are several. It may be due to septic abortion, or abortion, puerperal haemorrhage, puerperal sepsis, anemia and toxemia, etc. But a great majority of the causes can be detected during the ante-natal period, especially puerperal sepsis, anemia, and toxemia. The independent investigations conducted by three eminent obstetricians, Dr. (now Sir) A. L. Mudaliar in Madras, Dr. Jirad in Bombay and Dr. Neal Edwards in Calcutta go to show that more than one-third of the maternal deaths were due to preventable causes, viz. puerperal sepsis.<sup>25</sup> Of the 436 deaths studied by Dr.

<sup>24</sup> (a) A. L. Mudaliar, Report on the Investigation into the causes of maternal mortality in the city of Madras. It should be said that Dr. Mudaliar's Report stimulated interest among medical men of the country (b) Jirad, Report on the Investigation into the causes of maternal mortality in the city of Bombay. (c) Neal Edwards, Report on the Investigation into the causes of maternal mortality in the city of Calcutta.

<sup>25</sup> International Health Year Book published by the League of Nations, for 1924-1930.

Mudaliar, 115 were due to puerperal sepsis, 57 were due to anemia and 52 to toxemia. Dr. Mudaliar says that given proper care and treatment during the ante-natal, intra-natal and post-natal periods, these 234 or 53.44 per cent of the deaths could have been avoided.<sup>26</sup>

In the absence of the care and treatment mentioned above, certain factors gain dominance and influence the maternal mortality rate. They are firstly age. The average age at which girls begin to cohabit with their husbands is 14 years and the average age at which they begin to give birth to their first baby is 16 years. Each mother gives birth on an average to six children before the age of 30. Most of the women are worn out by that age by childbearing. If the marriage age of women is increased to 18 they will be better fitted in every way for the task of child bearing.<sup>27</sup>

Secondly, mortality among women due to childbearing belonging to a particular age group seems to be common. Of the 436 deaths examined by Dr. Mudaliar 82 belonged to the age group of 15-19, 108 to the age group of 20-24, and 115 to the age group of 25-29. From the figures given above it is evident that deaths are greater among women belonging to the age group of 25-29. Out of the 340 deaths analysed by Dr. Jirad 115 belonged to the age group of 20-25 and 99 to that of 26-30.

Thirdly, a majority of deaths more often occur among the primipara (first confinement) than among the multipara (subsequent confinements). Dr. Mudaliar says that the first confinement is in reality a 'trial labour' and therefore the expectant mother should be given sufficient care during the ante-natal and intra-natal periods the absence of which means the risk of sepsis or haemorrhage. It should, however, be mentioned that deaths are also greater among the 'old multipara'. The table given by Dr. Mudaliar illustrates

the point.<sup>28</sup>

Order of pregnancy	Total No. of cases examined	Total No. of deaths	Average per centage
I	4008	175	4.30
II	2870	60	2.10
III	2326	65	2.80
IV	1636	44	3.10

Fourthly, frequency in childbearing seriously impairs the vitality of the mother, ultimately leading her to the grave, especially if the interval between successive childbirths is not more than a year. Dr. Mudaliar gives two instances in support of this contention. One woman aged 30 had given birth to six children within a period of eight years of married life. She was brought to the maternity hospital when her condition became critical and died two hours after the birth of the sixth child. Another woman of 25 years of age had given birth to seven children within a period of seven years of married life. She suddenly collapsed and died just after the birth of the last child. Dr. Mudaliar says that these two deaths were due to lack of vitality as a consequence of frequent childbearing. If only such mothers had sought advice at one of the maternity centres they would have been advised to build up their physical capacity to bear the strain of childbearing and to space out future pregnancies in the light of the mother's health.

Fifthly, seasonal conditions are to some extent responsible in aggravating maternal mortality. Dr. Jirad informs us that the percentage of mortality due to eclampsia is highest in the cold seasons, that is, from November to January.<sup>29</sup>

Sixthly, economic and social conditions greatly influence the maternal mortality rate. Persons with low income, living in dirt, squalor and disease are easily susceptible to every infection. "Unhygienic and

<sup>26</sup> See also the Interim Report. Op. Cit.

<sup>27</sup> Blunt,—Social Service in India,

<sup>28</sup> Mudaliar.—Report. Op. Cit.

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<sup>24</sup> International Health Year Book published by the League of Nations, for 1924-1930.

Mudaliar, 115 were due to puerperal sepsis, 57 were due to anemia and 52 to toxemia. Dr. Mudaliar says that given proper care and treatment during the ante-natal, intra-natal and post-natal periods, these 234 or 53.44 per cent of the deaths could have been avoided.<sup>26</sup>

In the absence of the care and treatment mentioned above, certain factors gain dominance and influence the maternal mortality rate. They are firstly age. The average age at which girls begin to cohabit with their husbands is 14 years and the average age at which they begin to give birth to their first baby is 16 years. Each mother gives birth on an average to six children before the age of 30. Most of the women are worn out by that age by childbearing. If the marriage age of women is increased to 18 they will be better fitted in every way for the task of child bearing.<sup>27</sup>

Secondly, mortality among women due to childbearing belonging to a particular age group seems to be common. Of the 436 deaths examined by Dr. Mudaliar 82 belonged to the age group of 15-19, 108 to the age group of 20-24, and 115 to the age group of 25-29. From the figures given above it is evident that deaths are greater among women belonging to the age group of 25-29. Out of the 340 deaths analysed by Dr. Jirad 115 belonged to the age group of 20-25 and 99 to that of 26-30.

Thirdly, a majority of deaths more often occur among the primipara (first confinement) than among the multipara (subsequent confinements). Dr. Mudaliar says that the first confinement is in reality a 'trial labour' and therefore the expectant mother should be given sufficient care during the ante-natal and intra-natal periods the absence of which means the risk of sepsis or haemorrhage. It should, however, be mentioned that deaths are also greater among the 'old multipara'. The table given by Dr. Mudaliar illustrates

the point.<sup>28</sup>

Order of pregnancy	Total No. of cases examined	Total No. of deaths	Average per centage
I	4008	175	4.30
II	2870	60	2.10
III	2326	65	2.80
IV	1636	44	3.10

Fourthly, frequency in childbearing seriously impairs the vitality of the mother, ultimately leading her to the grave, especially if the interval between successive childbirths is not more than a year. Dr. Mudaliar gives two instances in support of this contention. One woman aged 30 had given birth to six children within a period of eight years of married life. She was brought to the maternity hospital when her condition became critical and died two hours after the birth of the sixth child. Another woman of 25 years of age had given birth to seven children within a period of seven years of married life. She suddenly collapsed and died just after the birth of the last child. Dr. Mudaliar says that these two deaths were due to lack of vitality as a consequence of frequent childbearing. If only such mothers had sought advice at one of the maternity centres they would have been advised to build up their physical capacity to bear the strain of childbearing and to space out future pregnancies in the light of the mother's health.

Fifthly, seasonal conditions are to some extent responsible in aggravating maternal mortality. Dr. Jirad informs us that the percentage of mortality due to eclampsia is highest in the cold seasons, that is, from November to January.<sup>29</sup>

Sixthly, economic and social conditions greatly influence the maternal mortality rate. Persons with low income, living in dirt, squalor and disease are easily susceptible to every infection. "Unhygienic and

<sup>26</sup> See also the Interim Report. Op. Cit.

<sup>27</sup> Blunt,—Social Service in India,

<sup>28</sup> Mudaliar.—Report. Op. Cit.

<sup>29</sup> Jirad.—Report Op. Cit.

overcrowded dwellings and undernourished bodies are hardly suitable" for childbearing.<sup>30</sup> Hygienic and nutritional factors are therefore intimately associated with maternal mortality. It is very aptly said that what is very urgently required is not a herd of obstetricians but a herd of cows. By adequate nutrition the shape of the pelvic bone can be developed properly in a girl thus fitting her beforehand for undertaking the business of childbearing. Malnutrition makes the pelvic bones narrower and stiffer conditions which are not at all suitable for childbearing. Therefore, proper nutrition is the only way by which an expectant mother can sustain her health and strength and that of the forthcoming baby.<sup>31</sup> The mortality rate among the Danish and Swedish women is much less because they consume more milk and live under proper sanitary conditions. As a consequence, there is more natural pelvic development in them "a condition which largely influences the safety of motherhood." We cannot lower the mortality rate unless the women subjected to the strain and stress of the physiological function of childbearing are made healthy and physically fit to undergo it.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, neglect plays a great part in the causation of maternal deaths. Dr. Mudaliar says that out of 436 deaths analysed by him no fewer than 313 did not receive any kind of ante-natal care. Of the 313 deaths a very large proportion of them could have been saved had proper ante-natal measures been taken. This neglect is greater on the part of women who have already experienced childbearing, even though they are particularly in need of more than ordinary ante-natal care. The previous successful deliveries make them believe that they are experts in childbearing! They therefore neglect all ante-natal examinations and advice.

To sum up, a great majority of the maternal deaths are due to avoidable factors,

such as complete absence of any ante-natal care, failure to enquire into the previous obstetric history, failure to diagnose the complications correctly and to follow up the complicated cases.

*Child Welfare.*—In all ages the problem of children and the care accorded to them has depended principally on the social value attached to them. The child is at present looked upon as an important social unit and is therefore entitled to all the care which makes him a healthy being so that he may develop his abilities to the fullest extent. Under present circumstances, however, the State assumes no such responsibility and the care and attention due to the child are available only to the fortunate few.

An ideal programme for the promotion of child welfare includes continuous and efficient medical supervision of the baby till it reaches the age of five. The baby should be examined regularly every month till it reaches the age of three months, then bi-monthly until it completes one year and then once in six months till it reaches the age of five. The child welfare centres should not only render advice but also correct physical defects<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> In Russia, when a child is born the birth is reported to the Children's Consultation Bureau. These Bureaux usually have three departments, one for infants, one for children and the third an educational department. When the mother leaves the hospital after delivery she takes the child to the Bureau concerned and repeats the visit every three weeks. A milk card is delivered to her. If the mother is not able to nurse the child or if she is weak, she may obtain breast milk from the Breast Milk Station. Mothers having surplus breast milk supply the station. In the Children's Consultation Bureau the development of the child is carefully watched. When the mother goes to work she leaves the infant in a nursery. Soviet nurseries have three purposes in view. They liberate the working class women from the care of rearing children. They educate the mother as well as the child. The nurseries contain three divisions. One for infants under one year; one for children of two years. The mother comes at regular intervals to nurse the child. She removes the working clothes, and puts on a sterilized gown with slits at breast. As soon as the child

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 52.

<sup>31</sup> Titmus.—Poverty and Population, pp. 150-55.

<sup>32</sup> Final Report. Op. Cit. p. 98.

Name of the council	1920	1925	1930	1932	1937	1941
Ootacamund ...	348.5	219.6	197.8	192.9	180.5	147.10
Bezwada ...	332.9	264.8	263.4	221.4	250.5	212.13
Guntur ...	282.8	267.0	250.2	218.6	189.7	218.42
Vizagapatam ...	276.7	251.6	241.8	295.2	237.2	232.30
Tinnevely ...	260.1	205.1	218.9	257.9	204.0	228.04
Virudupatti ...	252.3	170.8	170.0	186.0	220.6	164.21
Tuticorin ...	238.7	225.3	215.4	232.4	203.4	211.72
Vizayanagaram ...	224.0	156.1	187.5	198.3	208.1	198.30
Rajahmundry ...	155.1	262.1	213.7	257.1	271.9	251.84

Measured by these criteria, the child welfare centres that exist in the municipalities are far below the ideal conditions. There are no doubt child welfare centres which give milk to the poor children and some times a bath. Excepting these two they do not seem to perform any other function. Therefore, the provision made for the welfare of children is thoroughly inadequate and a great majority of children are not getting that minimum care to which they are entitled. As a result of this neglect infantile mortality is high. For instance the average infantile mortality rate per 1,000 live-births during the period of 1920 to 1941 was as follows:—

YEAR	1920	1925	1930	1934	1936	1937	1941
RATE	228.2	207.9	197.1	200.07	178.83	182.26	176.59

Though the average infantile mortality rate for all the councils was only 176.59 per thousand births in 1941 it was much higher in some of the councils. Read for instance, the mortality rate per 1,000 births in the councils during the period 1920-41 as given in the table at the top of the

reaches the age of two it is put in the second group and is taught to learn certain habits such as bathing and eating. There they sing, dance and play. At the age of three the child leaves the nursery as an independent little citizen. A very interesting account of the Soviet nurseries is given in Sigerist,—*Socialised Medicine*, p. 273.

page.<sup>34</sup>

A careful study of these figures reveals the fact that infantile mortality was appallingly high in 1920. It was 348.5 in Ootacamund, 332.9 in Bezwada and 282.8 in Guntur. But in 1941 the rate came down to 147.10 in Ootacamund, 212.13 in Bezwada and 218 in Guntur—per 1000 live-births. Similarly, the average rate for all the councils was 228 in 1920. But it came down to 176.59 in 1941. It may therefore be said that there is an improvement in the situation. But when compared with the figures obtaining in the Anglo-Saxon countries we are still centuries behind. For instance look into the table given on the next page.

Compared with the figures given there our mortality rate is three times higher than that of England, five times that of New Zealand. In all the 82 councils the number of children that died in 1941 before attaining the age of one year was 29,845 and if our mortality rate had been that of Canada viz., 76, we could have saved as many as 17,000 children in that year. The rate obtaining in New Zealand is only 31 in 1937 and in the same year the rate in the Madras District Municipalities was as high as 176.59. We are where England was in 1875. Even in that year the rate in that country was only 153.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See the Annual Reports of the Director of Public Health, 1920-41.

<sup>35</sup> Newman,—Op. Cit. p. 312.



Name of the country	1920	1925	1930	1932	1937	1941
The United States ...	76	72	65	58	54	45.3
Canada ... ..	102	92	89	73	76	
England and Wales ...	83	75	60	65	58	58.4
Ireland (N) ... ..	87	86	68	83	77	
Eire ... ..	73	68	68	72	73	
Australia ... ..	66	53	47	41	38	
New Zealand ... ..	48	40	34	31	31	
Union of South Africa ...	77	68	67	69	57	

Why should the rate of infant mortality be as high as 176.59 in the municipal areas of this Presidency and as low as 31 in New Zealand? In New Zealand the State made adequate and effective provision for the protection of children, and in this country it may be said that the provision is thoroughly inadequate. In the absence of care certain factors gain dominance and influence the death rate. The first factor of importance is the relationship between the health of the mother and the infant mortality rate. Infants whose mothers are tubercular or suffer from venereal diseases may inherit them and these diseases may cause their death.

Secondly, the death of the mother within the first year of the child's birth may lead to the death of infants. Because such orphan children have to be artificially fed. Lack of breast milk and lack of proper attention and care are the contributory causes for the higher mortality among such children.

Thirdly, mortality among twins and triplets is higher than among the single born children. The writer's attention was drawn to this fact when he visited the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre at Jagannadhapuram.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The writer with two of his colleagues visited a number of Municipal Maternity & Child Welfare Centres to study their practical working. He desires to express his gratefulness to Mrs. Nirody for arranging these visits with the medical officers concerned and to the various Medical Officers in charge of these institutions for answering the numerous questions put to them.

One woman gave birth to twins successively three times. All the six children excepting the last died. Further, twins are very often prematurely born. Death rate among such prematurely born children is high especially if they are delivered by means of instruments.

Fourthly, mortality among the artificially fed infants is higher than among the breast fed infants, especially if artificial feeding is resorted to during the first six months of the child's life.<sup>37</sup>

Fifthly, infants born to mothers belonging to the age group of 15-20 do not enjoy the same chances of life as infants born to mothers belonging to the age group of 25-30.

Sixthly, the order of birth is another factor which influences death. Mortality among the first born children is greater than among the second born. Similarly, it is higher among the ninth, tenth and later births than among the sixth, seventh and eighth.

Seventhly, mortality among children born within an interval of one year is higher than among children born after an interval of two or three years.

Eighthly, economic and social conditions of the parents also influence the mortality rate. Infantile mortality is intimately related to density of population. Mortality among children living in urban areas is higher than among those living in rural areas. Even in urban areas the rate is higher in the highly

<sup>37</sup> G. O. No. 1437, Ph. 28-8-1923.

congested areas, that is, in slums, than in the thinly populated areas. For instance, the rate was higher in Jagannadhapuram, a typical slum area, than in Mambalam. We found in Jagannadhapuram, scavenging ineffective, soil polluted, water unwholesome food contaminated and housing bad. Bad housing and overcrowding means lack of open space, lack of sunshine, lack of air, lack of contact with nature which factors cause the death of thousands of children who under better conditions would have lived to be healthy men and women and useful citizens.

This brief survey of an important aspect of public health administration reveals the fact that much remains yet to be done. A comprehensive maternity service is yet to be created. There is a serious lack of trained midwives and the barber midwives are still conducting 60 per cent of labour cases. It is a well established principle that all the constructive social services should be provided compulsorily and free of cost. For instance, we have made vaccination and, to a certain extent, elementary education compulsory; but maternity service is not yet made compulsory nor is it rendered adequately. The result is that several hundreds of women (2243 in 1941) are dying in childbirth in the municipal areas alone and several thousands are either invalidated temporarily or disabled beyond repair. It is forgotten that "most of them are young, at their reproductive zenith, making their physical contribution to their day and generation, each of them the mother of a home, the upbringer and trainer of a family". The death of such a mother "is a calamity to home life and to its integrity, perhaps, the most grievous of all misfortunes and dislocations which can afflict her husband and children. Moreover, the knowledge of these disasters is apt to produce in many women and their husbands a fear of maternity".<sup>38</sup> It is, therefore, incumbent on those entrusted with the administration of these

services to alleviate this suffering and sorrow.

How can this be done? Firstly, the present position should be surveyed and a comprehensive scheme should be prepared for the whole of the province. The scheme should be put into operation within a fixed period. Secondly, there should be a net-work of maternity and child welfare centres adequate in number and efficiently equipped. They should be kept in charge of Women Medical Officers who have been specially trained in maternity services. In bigger municipalities like Madura, Trichinopoly and Bezwada separate maternity hospitals should be established with separate wards for clean cases and puerperal sepsis. Dr. Mudaliar suggests that an ideal maternity hospital should have separate wards for clean cases, separate puerperal wards for suspect and septic cases and separate wards for abortion cases. We think that it is the goal which we should one day reach. At present it is beyond the means of every council to provide a maternity hospital on the lines suggested by Dr. Mudaliar. To start with, it is enough if we have sufficient number of maternity and child welfare centres with provision for confinements. It should be remembered that every centre should have separate wards for clean cases and puerperal sepsis. During our investigations we found that in some centres no provision was made for institutional treatment of the labour cases and puerperal sepsis. It is not realised that the omission of this important provision tends not only to lower the efficiency of midwifery work but also to discredit all the good work done during the ante-natal period. Further, institutional treatment should be encouraged as it reduces the maternal mortality rate.

Thirdly, domiciliary midwifery requires reconditioning. However efficient the institutional treatment may be, certain percentage of women would like to be confined in their homes especially if they have children to look after. If domiciliary service is to be

<sup>38</sup> Final Report, Op. Cit.

efficient the barber midwife system should be eliminated. In an ideal state of affairs there is no place for the barber midwife, especially if we remember the responsibility of a midwife in this province. It is more onerous than anywhere else because of the scarcity of medical women and obstetricians. In England legislation prohibits the dais from conducting labour cases. Similar provision should be made all over India.

Fourthly, new training centres should be opened to train a greater number of midwives. The training given at present, we are told, is inadequate. Therefore the courses of study should be revised. The selection of candidates for the midwifery training should be placed in the hands of a Board appointed

by the Government. Candidates who are trained in these institutions alone should be appointed in the municipal institutions.

Finally, all the private maternity hospitals and clinics should be brought under the control of the Health Department. At present they are so very independent that one does not know what happens within their four walls. Some of these institutions are ill-equipped and are in charge of inefficient midwives and it is dangerous to allow such institutions to go on without being controlled. If these reforms are carried out we are sure that motherhood will reach a high level of safety and as a consequence maternal and infantile mortality rates will fall, thus paving the way for a virile body of citizens.

## Welfare of the Soldier's Family

H. A. POPLEY

Though many of our countrymen have disclaimed responsibility in this War, yet it is widely admitted that on many a critical battle-field the Indian soldiers have crowned themselves with glory. And it ill becomes a grateful people to ignore the claims of the returned soldiers. As Rev. Popley observes, the majority of the soldiers come from the villages where the disintegrating influences of the family have had very little effect and family responsibility and affections still dominate the soldier's heart. Hence the writer emphasises that "in all the plans that are being made for the future welfare of the returned soldiers the family of the soldier must receive primary consideration" and outlines the scope and methods of family welfare in its economic, educational, social and moral aspects.

Rev. Popley is Secretary to the Soldiers' Welfare Committee, Erode.

**I**T is estimated that about two and a half million men have joined the Indian Army since the beginning of the war; and by the end of the war with Japan the number will probably be three millions. These men have distinguished themselves in many theatres of war from Italy to Singapore and received the unstinted praise of their commanders as also of the supreme commander. There is no doubt that the Indian Army has been a factor of great importance in the defeat of Germany and that it will play a still more important role in the ultimate defeat of Japan. So it can be confidently stated that the British Commonwealth owes a great deal to the devotion and endurance of the Indian Army. The preservation of India from invasion by the Japanese in 1942 was almost entirely due to the Indian Army.

If Germany had been able in 1942 to obtain a foothold in Iran and Iraq, as seemed very likely at that time, India would have certainly been invaded by the Japanese; and Germans and Japanese might even have met here. It was the Indian Army that saved the situation in both Iran and Iraq and it was with the help of the Indian Army that the campaign in Africa, from Ethiopia to Tunisia, was won by the Allies in 1943 and 1944.

Thus both the Government and people of India owe a great debt of gratitude to the humble soldiers of the Indian Army for saving their hearths and homes from the kind of destruction that came upon the people of Burma in 1942. Even though the people of India may disclaim any part in the policy and actions of the Government during these years they cannot set aside the

claims of the Army to the gratitude of the Indian people or refuse to express that gratitude in substantial forms in the future. The Indian Army has earned the right to expect from India some measure of appreciation and some share of the benefits that will come in the new India to which all are looking forward. This applies, of course, to their families as well as to the men themselves and the Government has to some extent recognised this obligation by organising various means of helping the families of the soldiers even during the war. If we reckon an average of five members to each soldier's family then this will mean that 15 million people will have been helped in various ways by the different agencies that have been organised to deal with the various problems and needs of the soldier's family. This is a number equal to about one-fourth of the whole population of Madras Province.

It is also well-known that the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments have been making plans for the welfare of the soldiers after demobilisation and they are willing to go a long way to ensure their welfare and future well-being. The general lines of many of these plans are now being set forth by the various governments, but a great deal has still to be done to fill in the details. It is well that there should be full opportunity for public criticism and for further suggestions, and both the soldiers and the Government will gain by the extension of such opportunities.

The various plans that have been already put forward seem to suggest that the authors of these plans have been thinking mainly of the soldier himself and have not given a great deal of thought to the soldier's family. In the Madras Post-War Scheme it has been proposed that land colonies of soldiers belonging to all castes and communities should be organised, in which all these communities will be able to work together in a spirit of comradeship as they did in their various units and regiments in the war. It is pointed out that the spirit of

comradeship, overleaping barriers of caste and creed, which found such splendid expression during the war, will also be able to find similar expression in such colonies. We may hope that this will be true and may also heartily welcome the plan for such colonies, but in doing so we must not forget that this comradeship was limited to the soldiers in the Army and that their families had no experience of it in the village. In fact, in many villages the old spirit of caste exclusiveness was as strong as ever and found expression during the war in many places, with the object of preventing poor and low-caste families from sharing in some of the benefits that came to other families. It was often only too true that the menfolk and womenfolk of the soldier's family who lived on in the old village, with its communal and group cleavages, saw very little of that comradeship in which they were expected to share after the war. They have had no chance of tasting the first fruits of that spirit and so will not be prepared, as the soldiers will be, to share in its benefits.

The point that is emphasised here is that in all the plans that are being made for the future welfare of the returned soldier, the family of the soldier must receive the primary consideration. If the soldier's family cannot fit into the schemes for the well-being of the soldier then they will be doomed to failure from the very start. It is a well-known fact that in India family responsibilities and family associations count for more than they do in the West, and go down very deep into the whole social and personal organism. Here people will get into debt or face serious trouble for the sake of the family, and will walk or travel miles to go to a wedding or to attend a funeral of some distant member of the family. It is the family well-being that is the main consideration and not merely one's personal welfare. In the towns disintegrating influences may have had much influence in weakening the strength of this family feeling, but in the villages they have had very little influence.

and the family is still the centre of the life of both the individual and the group. The majority of the soldiers come from villages and belong to those groups in which such modern disintegrating influences have had very little effect.

It is, therefore, essential that not only the soldier himself but also his family should be fitted into the plans for the new ordered life which Governments are making for the future. The soldier is being subjected to many new influences in the Army which will make him the more ready to share in the new life that is being planned for him, but such influences are playing no part in the lives of the soldier's families in the villages. Here the old traditions and forces still play their part and exert their influence very often in full strength. No doubt there are some villages situated near to towns and subject to influences from the town that are to some extent sharing in the new influences that are helping to shape the new India, but the great majority of the villages are quite out of the range of such influences. It is, therefore, necessary to help the soldier's families to adjust themselves to the new conditions and environment that they will find when they come into such co-operative colonies and the process of adjustment must begin now and not wait until the end of the war. Very little is being done to prepare the families for such new conditions and this needs to be faced even when the plans are being made for the future of the soldier. That is why the subject of the welfare of the soldier's family is not concerned merely with the present day needs and problems but with this larger future problem of preparing the family for the new life into which it will have to enter.

*Needs of the Family.*—To begin with, it is well to understand what has been happening in the soldier's family during the war and how they have been affected by the various influences that have played upon them. Conditions in these families have not been static. Everything has not been

the same as in the days before the war. There have been changes and new forces have been at work that have made their influence felt. Let us first ask the question, what kind of family do most of the soldiers come from? I can only write of what I know in South India and it may be that conditions are somewhat different in the Punjab and other provinces, but from what I have read it seems that there is not a great deal of difference to be found in the conditions of the families from which the soldiers come. In this district I have come into frequent contact with the fathers, mothers, wives and brothers of hundreds of men in the army and know their conditions, their troubles, quarrels and almost all aspects of their family life. The majority of soldiers in this district have come from the poorer families in the villages, with a sprinkling from the lower middle classes. Most of them are landless labourers or have only a small bit of dry land. Some of those in the technical services have garden land and are a little higher up in the social scale. It is interesting to ask, what is it that these families are thinking about? I have read hundreds of letters from soldiers to their people and from the father, wife or brother to the soldier and have also written many. Thus I have had the opportunity of getting to know something of what the soldier and his family are thinking. The main subjects of the letters and of the talks that I have had with soldiers and the members of the families are four: money, food, land, family concerns. There is very little about the new things and places which the soldier is seeing for the first time, very little about any new ideas for the future. Both he and they are concerned with only these four fundamental things of life.

*The Family Allotment.*—The most important subject of the soldier's family is that of money, especially the Family Allotment that the soldier is expected to make, usually called the Paymal in Tamil. This is the theme of hundreds of complaints and

the gist of hundreds of letters. Many of the soldiers write detailed directions of how their allotments are to be spent. Quarrels arise between wife and mother-in-law and between brother and sister or father and son concerning the disposal of the allotment. They all try to grab it as it means the one regular income for the family. If it does not come in time, then they expect me to write at once and ask the reason for the delay. In most cases the families spend this money as quickly as they can. In very few families is there any attempt to save for the future. Many of these people have never had so much money coming in regularly before. Of course, it has to be remembered that the prices of food and cloth and of all goods have risen and the people have to spend much more than they would ordinarily do for the bare necessities of life. Some of the lads are sending money for their brother's or sister's education. This is especially true of Christian families. Sometimes one or other member of the family manages to get the soldier to make the allotment to him or to her, instead of to the wife or to the mother. Sometimes tricks are resorted to to effect the change. In some cases the soldier makes no allotment at all and either spends the money himself or else sends it occasionally by Money Order to one or other member of the family. I have known a number of cases of wives and children left without any support for months together and sometimes even for years. It is a pity that the allotment to some member of the family, to the wife if there is one, is not made compulsory, as it is in the British Army. It would be to the advantage both of the soldier and of his family if this were done.

*Food.*—The second important problem of the soldier's family is food. In a district like Coimbatore which is a deficit district both in rice and millets, this has been an urgent problem. As soon as rice was controlled the district authorities solved the problem by giving the soldier's family a regular monthly ration of rice, even before

rural rationing was introduced. In the towns there was no difficulty as all the inhabitants were given a regular rice ration; but in the villages where it was sometimes almost impossible to get grains of any sort in the markets or anywhere except in the black market, the soldiers' families would have starved if this arrangement had not been made. This went on for about three years. When, however, rural rationing of all food grains was introduced, this was stopped and as an initial measure it was decided that soldiers' families should be given millets in most cases unless they could prove that they had been regular rice eaters. This was naturally resented by them as they had been used to rice for some years, and also as they saw that many other families in the villages who had managed to persuade the village authorities that they were rice-eating families got rice rations, though they had never sent any of their members into the army. It was also greatly misunderstood by them as the change came just at the time when Germany was defeated. Now the authorities have gone some way to redress the grievance by giving the soldiers' families one-third rice ration, but even now many non-military families get a full rice ration. I think that the authorities have made a mistake here which has created a feeling of injustice in the minds of many families. There was also no necessity for the change as there was plenty of rice available though millets were rather scarce. Most villagers also find it very difficult to get sugar and black gram. The latter has been almost unobtainable in this district. This applies to all the families, both those of soldiers and others. In the matter of rationing it is very important there should be equal treatment as far as possible for all the families. The towns get the sugar and the villager has to manage with *gur*. The number of requests that I get from military families for help in getting various foodstuffs is surprising. In former days, if only they had money, they could get most of what they wanted in the

weekly markets, but now that control and rationing have come this is not possible, and so they have to obtain special permits from the revenue authorities. These are by no means easy for villagers—and especially villagers of the poorer classes—to obtain. In the towns people can get them without much difficulty, but not so in the villages. Everyone is on the hunt for food and if he gets additional money he tries to obtain better food, which again is very natural and which, I am sure, nutrition experts would approve.

*The Soldier and his Letters.*—Then another great need of the family is for news of the soldier. They do not want to know much about him. They want to know that he is well and that he is still interested in the family. The organisation of the District Soldiers' Board and its welfare workers are a great help in this matter. They write to the units concerned and if a man has not been corresponding with his family a letter from the D.S.B. to the O.C. of his unit often brings a reply in a short time. It must be remembered that many of the men are illiterate and have to get someone else to write their letters; and especially those who are in forward areas probably do not have much time for writing and so week by week the letter is not written and the family gets worried. There are some families who have not had any letters from their sons or husbands for many months. Even if money is coming regularly from the Company headquarters, the family is anxious for news and they are not satisfied unless they get a letter, at least once a month. The soldier also wants a letter from the family and many of them write grumbling that their relatives do not write frequently. The trouble is that many letters go astray, either because of wrong addresses or because they are not stamped. Because the soldier can send unstamped letters he thinks that his family can also do the same and he often tells them to send them unstamped. But such letters often do not get through and so the soldier hears nothing

from his family. I spend many hours a week just addressing covers for relatives for their letters to the soldier. They find that letters addressed by me—they are typed as a rule—get to the soldier and so come here to get their letters addressed. Then it is not always easy to get the address right. The soldier often writes it in Tamil and it has to be put in proper English which many people, not knowing the technical terms, cannot do. It would be better for Teachers' Associations to explain to the soldier's family the technique of addressing soldiers' letters. It is not possible for every family to come in here or to the Soldiers' Board every time they want to send a letter and if the teacher could be taught how to help them in this matter it would save a lot of difficulty. This fact of writing of letters is most important both for the soldier and for his family, and everything should be done to help the family to get the letters addressed properly.

*Desire for Land.*—Another great hunger of the soldier and of his family is for a piece of land. I have already said that the majority of these families have no land at all and they have been told that the Government is going to give land to all the soldiers. They imagine it would be given to them now only and so as soon as they hear of any piece of vacant land near their village they immediately want to send a petition for its grant to them. Most of them do not know that the Government has ordered that no land is to be given on *darkhast* until after the war and they do not know of the Government plans for co-operative colonies. So according to the maxim that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush they make a bid for land *now* and preferably land near to their own villages. This hunger for land is of course natural in an agricultural community and it is hoped that after the war something will be done to satisfy this hunger.

It is interesting to find among those who are educated to some extent, a keen desire

to get the utmost benefit from education for their brothers and sisters. This is especially true of the Christian community and of urban families. The soldier takes this up in his letters and the family also does all it can to get the benefits of the free education that Government has promised to the close relatives of soldiers. Many of the soldiers are sending special funds from their pay in order to help in the education of their brothers and sisters. This is a good sign and a practice that needs to be encouraged as much as possible. Those engaged in helping soldiers' families can do a great service to them by helping them to obtain the educational concessions that Government has promised to them. It means the expenditure of time and effort but it is worthwhile not only for the sake of the particular family but also for the educational progress of the whole community.

These are some of the things that soldiers are eager to obtain for their families and show how strong is the family feeling amongst them, which is even strengthened by distance and danger. There are, of course, some cases in which the soldier deserts his family, his wife and children and never writes them a line or sends them any money. The new freedom that he finds in the army and the abundance of opportunities for spending money and obtaining amusement is too strong wine for some of them, and they leave their families to get on as best as they can without any help. It is for such people that some form of compulsory allotment is necessary. They may not be a large proportion of the whole number but in their total they do constitute a fairly large group, and are the cause of a lot of trouble and distress. This is one of the problems that the welfare worker has often to face and to straighten out, and it takes a lot of his time and energy. In some cases, there is a bad family history behind such troubles and all this has to be properly reconditioned. It requires great tact and persistence as well as co-operation of the

Commanding Officers concerned in order to influence the soldiers rightly.

This is a picture of the actual situation as it is today in many soldiers' families in rural areas. There are bright and dark spots in it, but it shows the need for careful handling and for thorough study of the situation in every case as well as for general principles of work and welfare. Having this in mind we can now take up the question of what can be done by the various agencies concerned to provide for the future welfare of the soldiers' families and for their well-being as citizens of the future India. To help these people now is important and worthwhile but it is far more important to help them to become useful and worthy citizens. This problem of the future welfare of these families may conveniently be discussed under the four following heads: economic, educational, social and moral.

*Economic Welfare.*—While the present Family Allotments are helping the soldier's family to meet present economic difficulties and to provide for their needs, nothing is being done at the present time to raise the economic level of these families. Plans have been prepared to deal with this in the postwar years in the case of some proportion of these families, but it is clear that these plans will not materially affect a very large number of families. In the Madras Province it is expected that plans for agricultural settlements will provide for about 9,000 families and another 3,000 will be taken care of by the co-operative workshops proposed to be developed. This means that about 12,000 families will be provided for by these means. The total number of recruits in the Madras Province are estimated to be about 550,000 and we may reckon that these represent about 500,000 families. Thus the plans for co-operative colonies and co-operative workshops will only help about 2 per cent of the total number of families. We may reckon that about 20 per cent will be absorbed in industry, education and other civil employments. Another 10 per cent may



wish to stay on their own lands and improve them with the help of the Governments. That provides for a total of about 32 per cent or one-third of the families. The remainder will be the group of families belonging to the economically and educationally backward communities; and unless something is done for them they will become a floating group of discontents and unemployed, with no special aim in life and no way of improving their lot. It is necessary, therefore, to make plans to provide for at least half of the families concerned, that is, for 250,000 families. The only plan that will provide for such a large number of families will be the establishment of labour colonies in different parts of the Province to carry out the large scale projects contemplated by Government in the postwar period. All Provincial Governments are planning for new enterprises in irrigation, industry, roads, public works and so on which will require a large force of trained and disciplined labour. The nucleus of such a force can be found in the returned soldier and his family. These can be placed in labour colonies with schools, and all other amenities needed, in central places near which the large schemes of public works are expected to be carried out. In some cases it may be necessary to erect temporary camps and this also can be done, provided that plans are worked out beforehand. All this needs careful planning far ahead and it is not enough merely to list such schemes. They must be worked out in fairly close detail so that some of them at least can be brought into action immediately after the close of the war. By this means a definite programme of economic uplift can be achieved, and at the same time the programme of public works and construction that Government has in mind will be certain to be carried out. Economic uplift will not come by merely dreaming of it. It has got to be achieved by planning and intelligent effort. Such labour colonies will not only benefit the demobilised soldier and his family but also a very large number of

other families. There is some reference to these in the Government's Report on Post-War Schemes but they need to be carefully and systematically worked out. The greater efficiency of the labour grouped in this way, and the larger use of machinery to which the soldiers have become accustomed, should also result in the cutting down of costs for such undertakings.

It is very important that the soldiers should get to know something of these schemes as soon as possible, and especially before demobilisation, so that they and their families may be ready as soon as they leave the Army or Navy to take up one or other of these employments. They must be popularised as means of raising the standard of life for everyone who is willing to share in them so that there may be willingness on the part of the soldier and his family to join some such scheme.

Then it will be necessary to set up Labour Employment Bureaux for those who want to choose their own way, to go into some specific industry or to take up some civil employment. These men cannot find such openings by chance. They must be helped to get the kind of work they want and for which they are best fitted. It will be necessary to have a large network of such employment bureaux all over the country, and to make it compulsory for employers and all who need labour to send information to these bureaux so that they may be in a position to guide and help the applicant. It is not necessary to wait till the close of the war before setting these up. In fact, they ought to begin working before that so that when the big rush starts they will be ready and able to help. It may be that within one year from now large scale demobilisation will have to start. So there is not much time for preparation and there is very much to be done before these can work efficiently.

Another means of economic development that is peculiarly appropriate to this country is the organisation and development of cottage industries. As the plan of the

Bombay Industrialists says :—

“It is an essential part of our plan for the organisation of industries that adequate scope should be provided for small scale and cottage industries. This is important not merely as a means of affording employment but also of reducing the need for capital, particularly of external capital, in the early stages of the plan. It is difficult to define the considerations on which the choice between large and small scale industries and cottage industries should be determined. The factors involved in the choice are numerous and often conflicting. But generally it may be stated that while in basic industries there is little scope for small industrial units, they have an important and useful place in consumption goods industries where their function is in many cases complementary to those of large units.”

Such small scale or cottage industries might provide for a reasonable proportion of the soldiers' families, say about 5 to 10 per cent. Here also it will be necessary for the Government to prepare booklets giving all the information needed, and to provide the small capital which will be necessary in the beginning.

*Educational Welfare.*—The educational aspect of the problem is perhaps even more important than the economic, or at least as important. There can be no permanent economic improvement in the life of a country without educational improvement. It may also be said that permanent educational betterment cannot be maintained without economic well-being. So these two aspects are truly interdependent and we must keep this fact in mind. The authors of the Plan of Economic Development stress this point very strongly :—

“In the execution of a comprehensive plan of economic development, it is essential that we should be able to count on the willing co-operation of the people. This will be possible only if the masses are able to read and write and are in a position to

understand for themselves the broad implications of the developments embodied in the plan. The execution of a plan which aims at an all-round development will also require a huge personnel trained for technical posts in agriculture, industry and trade and for general administration.”

The Nuffield College Report on Industry and Education in England also emphasises the connection between them. The Report says :—

“The relations between industry and education are of a fundamental importance to the planning of our life as a nation; and it is essential to plan harmoniously for both. This war has already brought with it changes in the structure and working of industry, above all on the human side, much further-reaching than those which developed in the last war; and, on the side of education, plans are being laid for extensive developments which must, if they are to produce the benefits expected of them, pay due regard to the needs of industry.” And again, “Industry needs, from top to bottom, and in every part of its human structure, the continual refreshment of new ideas. Its leading executives, no less than its managerial and technical personnel and the general body of workers engaged in it, need to be kept continually fresh in mind by mixing and meeting with others who can bring to them the invigorating air of different experiences and a different way of approach.”

The Sargent Scheme is before the country with its great and comprehensive plans for the development of education in India as a whole. If these are taken up enthusiastically in every Province then we can hope that the soldiers' families will also benefit from such schemes. But this alone will not suffice. It is reckoned that it will take from 20 to 30 years to bring in the full scheme set forth in the Sargent Report. By that time many of the soldiers' families will have relapsed into their old inefficiency and illiteracy unless something is done immediately

on demobilisation to ensure the educational improvement of every member of a soldier's family who is capable of such improvement. The present arrangement for scholarships for deserving pupils of soldiers' families may be continued. This will benefit a proportion of the families and especially those which during the war have felt the urge to better education. Then in all agricultural and labour colonies Government should see that good schools are provided for all the children, both boys and girls, of the workers, and these schools should not only include elementary schools but also technical and secondary schools wherever feasible. Then in all areas where there are large numbers of military families, rural elementary schools up to the eighth standard should be established either by Government or by District Boards or by other bodies. This part of the scheme can be taken up immediately as many Governments are already planning to put into execution some parts of the Sargent Scheme. Such areas should be classed as compulsory education areas where there are sufficient schools for all who have to use them.

It is also necessary to plan for continuing the education of the soldier himself as unless that is done the family will once more sink back into the old morass of illiteracy and poverty. A very large number of soldiers during the war have managed to get some smattering of education. Many have become literate or at any rate partially literate. Their travels and experiences have given them a wider knowledge of the world and of geography in general. Their contacts have broadened their minds and have made them amenable to new ideas. It is very necessary that for all such men plans be made which will take them into ever-widening reaches of knowledge. In the large industrial plants to be established and the labour and agricultural colonies to be organised, we may expect that such Adult Schools will be established, but the position of a large number of families still left in their

villages will not be improved unless something is done to develop a network of Adult Schools which will cover the countryside. It is very unfortunate that in India Adult Education has made very little progress. It has been a movement of fits and starts. In some quarters it has been confined to a literacy movement merely which, without further education, soon dies away.

For the success of a movement of continued education it is necessary that there should be a very large number of teachers, trained and engaged. It is not possible to rely upon voluntary teachers. This has been tried for years and has largely failed. Adult Schools have to be organised in every large centre where there are sufficient demobilised soldiers, and they will have to be staffed by teachers who will be specially trained in short intensive courses and will be paid some regular remuneration. Some of these teachers may come from the day school teachers but a good many of them will have to come from other walks of life. This is all to the good as it is desirable to have in such Adult Schools men drawn from various occupations and professions. All this has to be carefully planned by some central authority, perhaps, for each district or group of districts and cannot be left to haphazard arrangements. Adult education is very different in many ways from the education of children and needs to be developed along different lines. Something like the Folk High Schools of Denmark might well be tried here on a smaller and less ambitious scale. In India the State or other public bodies will have to take it up as, except in big cities like Bombay, it is not possible to get the necessary voluntary agencies with sufficient stability to carry out such programmes for a series of years. It may be that one of the results of such a programme of continued education for the soldier will be a general movement of Adult Education through the whole community. This is a natural and desirable outcome of such a programme and then ultimately the programme for demobilised soldiers will be

merged in a larger one for the whole community. In order to get this programme going it will be necessary to start preparations soon as something ought to be done as soon as the process of demobilisation starts.

*Social Welfare.*—The next aspect of the amelioration of the soldier's family which has to receive consideration is the social aspect. This is very important and peculiarly so in the case of the soldier. He has been used to a great deal of comradeship and social ameliorative activities, and as soon as he is demobilised he will want something of this sort in his life; otherwise he will go to the wrong places and get it with disastrous results both to himself and to the family. He has been used to moving and working in groups and to having things organised for him, and if he is to make the best of life and if the State is to get the best out of him, provision must be made in all plans for the future for social amelioration and its related activities. This is also necessary for the development of the community (not communal) side of life. Every large village ought to have its community centre where the ex-service men and their families can come together and where the community activities can be organised. In the case of labour colonies and agricultural settlements and such like under the care of Government agencies, these community centres will have to be organised by Government officers but in the case of soldiers scattered over a wide area voluntary agencies like the Y. M. I. A. or the Y. M. C. A. can organise them and also carry them on. The Y. M. C. A. in Travancore has organised a whole chain of such community centres with their social, religious and economic programmes. This is the kind of thing that is needed. Such community centres must not only cater for the ex-service man himself but must also take cognisance of the needs of the family and help the family to enter into such a community life. It may be necessary to have separate arrangements for men and women but that will have to be decided

later. The main thing is to see that such community organisations are set in motion and are ready to function as soon as the demobilisation movement begins. In many villages they might centre round the school with the teacher or teachers as active workers in them.

These organisations and community centres may also be the means of carrying on a general programme of popular and cultural education by means of lectures, dramas, cinema and lantern shows, musical performances and competitions, and so on. The National War Front has been doing a good deal of work along these lines during the war with the object of making the people understand the war and its objectives. Now this kind of thing needs to be done for peace and its objectives in somewhat similar ways. That it can be done the National War Front has amply proved. Similar enthusiasm and careful planning has got to be put into these peace programmes which will mean so much to the future development of the country. These community centres should also have lending libraries associated with them so that as the education of the soldier and his family progresses he would have the opportunity of reading books, thus quickening his interest and developing his education. Such a chain of library centres will mean a great deal not only for the soldier and his family but also for the whole of the population of rural areas. There is going to be a great development in the reading habits of the people, and publishing agencies will have a great opportunity of making a big contribution to the cultural uplift of the masses.

These community centres will also be valuable centres for health propaganda and health education and may be used to improve the sanitation and cleanliness of the villages and to instruct the families of the ex-service men and of others in the villages in matters of rural hygiene. They would also be able to undertake physical and athletic activities and to organise games and contests. For

the ex-service man and his family this would be a most valuable adjunct of their work. It may be desirable to appoint physical directors for some districts or groups of districts where there are a large number of ex-service men. Probably out of these men some could be selected who, with a little specialised training, would be capable of taking up this work. Such physical activities would not only promote the health of the population but would also stimulate that social mingling which is so important in order to overcome all the caste and communal prejudices of India, which perhaps are more intense in the village than anywhere else. As I have indicated the Y. M. C. A. in Travancore has been able to develop such an intercommunal programme with great effectiveness and the same kind of work could easily be developed under the trained leadership of workers of the Servants of India Society, or the Y. M. I. A. or the Y. M. C. A. In this way the community life of all the soldiers' families scattered over the countryside can be enriched and uplifted. At the same time they can also be helped in their economic life by the development of community projects of poultry-keeping, dairying, the growing of vegetables and so on, and also improved methods of agriculture. There are plenty of Government experts available in these various village industries and it only needs some organiser to get hold of them and utilise their services for such ex-service centres.

This whole programme of community uplift must be planned and thoroughly well organised and carried out. It is not any good trying to improvise it on the spur of the moment. It is necessary to have trained organisers ready to carry through the work when it is needed and this must be done either by Government or by central ex-service agencies or by such organisations as the Y. M. C. A., the Servants of India Society and so on. But it is very important to see that all this is not left to chance, nor must it be merely part of some paper

programme. It must be implemented by some central and constructive organisation. It may be possible to develop the present Soldiers' Boards for this work after the war provided that some constructive leadership along these lines is given to them. As they are today they have not the trained leadership required for such community work.

*Moral Welfare.*—In addition to the economic, educational and social aspects of the work there is also the moral aspect to be considered. This is that side of the work which deals with the whole tone and outlook of the community, with the spirit of brotherhood and comradeship, with the motive and purpose of the programme. This part of the work can hardly be undertaken by Government agencies and must be largely in charge of voluntary workers. It is a great mistake to think that a new world can be created merely by economic, educational or social forces. These have their big part to play and without them nothing permanent can be done. But in addition to these there must also be the religious factors, the belief in man and in God, the moral motive and inspiration, without which even the best-laid schemes can come to nothing.

The leaders and workers must be men with moral fervour and spiritual vision, so that they may be able to kindle similar enthusiasm and vision in the people among whom they work. "Without vision the people perish" said an old prophet and this is true today as it was in those far-off days. Man has developed a moral sense and unless this also is cultivated he does not find full satisfaction in life and all its amenities. The history of India is sufficient witness to this. The moral and spiritual outreaches of the Indian soul have made their contribution to the riches of all mankind. Provision must be made in these community centres for such moral and spiritual growth. Economic and cultural development alone cannot supply all the force and vision that is needed for the uplift of the community and for the creation of the new conditions of betterment and well-

being that are essential to good living. The moral and spiritual must have their place. The stories of Harischandra, Durga and Nanda are ample evidence of this need of the Indian heart. There is also a wealth of material in Indian religious and ethical tradition in Hindu, Muslim and Christian sources to supply the examples and incentives needed.

The service of the community must be the aim and ideal of all this activity, and not merely selfish objectives. Only if this larger aim is kept in view will it be possible to realise the various objectives under the other three heads. This ideal and motive must be kept before the whole community and not merely in the mind of the leaders. Unless the community is also stirred with this ideal it will not be possible to advance very far. Enlightened selfishness has only a limited value and must be replaced by love of one's fellows. Jesus said that Love of one's neighbour was the second great commandment and on this and on the first all the law and revelation was dependent. It is true, and all great religious teachers have borne witness to it and not least, Mahatma Gandhi in our own country and generation. Mahatma Gandhi has shown continually that all his great work has only been possible because of the ethical and religious ideals that animate and inspire him, and he has tried to make India realise this more and more.

So some provision must be made for the strengthening of this moral and spiritual aspect of the work. Bhajanas, lectures and other moral and spiritual activities can be fostered. Lecturers, bhagavathers and so on may be encouraged to come to such centres and to help to inspire the people. Study groups for those who are really interested may also be organised in such books as the Kuran, Gita and the Gospels. In all these ways the people may be stimulated to see the moral and spiritual background and foundation of all the work. It can also be said that this part of the programme will be of special interest to the

womenfolk of the ex-soldier's family. It is necessary to create an antidote to the toddyshop and the gambling den and only by such means can this be done.

*Conclusion.*—The above is an attempt to sketch some of the things that are needed in a welfare programme for the families of soldiers and ex-service men. It includes both the needs of today for the serving soldier and also the needs of the future for the demobilised soldier and his family. These are only provisional and are largely the result of the writer's experience with soldiers' families in the Madras Province and his experience of the work of the Y.M.C. A. in the last War and in this one. Many of them may be subject to correction and to amplification but this can be done largely as a result of experience. The great thing is to make a beginning and to get something going. '*Solvitur ambulando*' is quite a good motto for many problems and has to be adopted by many social workers, especially in fields where they are inexperienced.

Some will object to any programme that is not worked out in association with a national government. I agree that if anything worthwhile is to be carried on permanently some form of national government will be necessary and I hope that such a state of things will come to pass before very long. But this does not do away with the necessity for thinking and planning things now. The future national government will have to take over many things as going concerns and to carry on as best as they can with what is available, modifying here and there to suit their own policies. I cannot think, however, that any national government will not want to honour the pledges that were given to India's fighting men and to do all that they can for their families, since they will know that to them and to their courage and endurance in the face of frightful odds they owe the safety of this country and its deliverance from invasion. Whatever Government is in power they will need to face the things that have been

set down in this article and I hope that they may be able to accept a good many conclusions that are set forth in it. For example the Beveridge Scheme of Social Security is bound to be accepted in its main lines by whatever Government may come into power in England in the next election, but some of the actual details may depend upon whether it is a Labour or a Tory Government. So also with the returned soldier and his family. It does not matter what Government may be in power in India we may be sure that it will try and act fairly towards the soldiers and their families and to help them to become useful citizens of

the new India. So it is not out of place to plan for things now. In fact, it is necessary to do so, for if we wait until the new Government comes into power, it will not be possible to do much for many years; for they will have their hands full of many schemes. India has reason to be grateful to the soldier and his family, and it has in them assets of real value to the new India in view of their experience and discipline. It can help them to give of their best and to make a contribution of great value to their country if it takes up some of the suggestions given here, and by helping them it will be helping itself many times.

## Our Village Health

RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN AND MILDRED MCKIE KEITHAHN

The days when our villages were peopled with radiant and hardy children of the soil are gone. "India is a nation in which malnutrition and hunger diseases are a fact amongst a large part of the population even in peace time." Consequently the impaired health and diseased condition of our folk call for a healthful programme of life and comprehensive Medical Services. In the following article the writers suggest simple but useful ways and means to establish the villages in sound health.

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**M**EN are created to be radiant, healthy, normal beings. Our villages are potential for such healthful living. And yet, perhaps there is no other nation in the world so weak physically, so overcome with disease, as is India. These days of suffering are waking us to the realisation, at least to some degree, of the importance of food as the determining factor in the health and ultimate strength of the nation. Lord Horder, a medical man, is quoted in the April 19, 1944 number of the Christian News Letter as being deeply concerned over prolonged malnutrition and hunger diseases, recovery from which "can only occur in generations rather than in a lifetime." India is a nation in which malnutrition and hunger diseases are a fact among a large part of the population even in peace times. Hunger is no mere wartime phenomenon as in the case of Holland, Belgium or Greece.

A nation which lives very largely on but two meals a day—and often less—cannot be strong physically or mentally or spiritually.

The labour force of such a nation cannot compete with the well-fed labour force of other nations. Ill-fed people cannot do that creative thinking which is so necessary for the solution of even simple village problems. Such a nation cannot rise to high spiritual heights. And yet our Government, the public and spiritual leaders have paid very little attention to this grave problem and our health services too have neglected this important issue. How can a starving people take its rightful place in a Commonwealth of Nations! India has always been noted for the spiritual heights many of its members have attained. But it is doubtful whether a starving man can be religious. Yet our Churches, Temples and Mosques apparently take no cognizance of such an important fact!

*Enlarged Medical Service.*—Eight years ago at Devakottai in India, we came to the realisation that ordinary medical service was daily enslaving India. We have profound regard for the consecration and selfless services of many in the medical

service. We know the importance and need of much of the medical aid that is rendered today; but our plea is for an enlarged service. All too many people are becoming enslaved to a life of pills, injections and Kruschen salts—dependent upon foreign medicines, and even worse, upon wrong habits of living. Medical help should be an aid to the normal body processes which through malnutrition face serious deficiency or handicap. It should not merely try to release us from the results of wrong living. Rather its aim should be to bring us back, as soon as possible, to permanent healthful habits of living. And yet we found that the general mentality of the patients who came to us was that the doctor should produce quick results, no matter what the monetary cost. Even among the doctors there was no idea of helping the patients to help themselves by teaching them to do the simple things they could do for themselves in order that they might live a long, healthy life in their own environment. There resulted a competition between busy doctors to get more patients and thus more money—a most unprofessional situation; while the patient went from doctor to doctor trying to find an easy way out of his particular difficulty—anything but that of changing his wrong health habits and getting at the root of the disease.

Most unfortunate of all, the present medical services scarcely touch the health needs of the village. We have great regard for those few who have gone to the villages, either in medical vans or as permanent medical workers. Generally these are inspired with a larger vision of their task. But the fact still remains that the town and city dispensaries and hospitals have served, and that too very poorly, but a very small number of villages which are located at their outskirts. Moreover, a doctor can serve well but a very few patients daily. Yet hundreds pour in despair into the out-patient lines to face a doctor—all too often seated at his table—answer a question or two, show a

tongue or extend a pulse, receive a chit and proceed to the compounder for a mixture! This medical service, from our point of view, is as good as none at all. The system is most demoralising to all concerned. We do nothing to solve our real problem of food and healthy living. We carry on a system which very largely depends upon foreign medicines and research. The little that is done is done in a most unsatisfactory manner. The patient returns to his home with little confidence in the doctor's efforts and still a victim of conditions which he might himself do a deal great to remedy had he the right guidance. The whole nation is thus being plunged into greater depths of frustration and helplessness and slavery.

*The Normal Man is Healthy.*—Let us put forth and examine three common truths. *Firstly, we are created to be healthy beings.* Our whole physical structure is so marvellously made that in its normal functioning it is a healthy and health-maintaining process. Gandhiji was right when after his recent release he apologized for his ill-health. It is wrong to be unwell. Somewhere we have broken the laws of health and we must suffer the consequences, as is necessary whenever Nature's laws are broken. Society has a right to demand the observance of known health laws on the part of its members. It was natural and right that in India certain habits of health have become almost a religious observance, such as the regular morning cleaning of the teeth and mouth. India's personal rules of health have been of a very high standard. But our community rules of health are most unsatisfactory. Here is one great field of our national life needing reorganisation. We cannot pollute our common ground and escape the energy-sapping hookworm. We cannot neglect a balanced diet and escape deficiency diseases. How often at the Manamadurai Leper Asylum we have seen leprosy clearing up almost immediately, as soon as the patient had the beginnings of a balanced diet! Doctors often say as they describe a patient, "That is due to a lack of Vitamin



so-and-so, etc., etc.!" Some doctors and even hospitals give little or even no treatment but proper diet for a period under observation. The patient recovers under such treatment but the disease soon reappears upon return to the village.

*The Normal Man is Healthy.*—We are told that on the whole, primitive man was healthy. He was not a victim of our modern diseases! Dr. Harrison of Arabia often speaks of this natural healthiness of the primitive tribes with whom he has often mingled. The primitive man ate his food in the natural state. Food values were not destroyed by wrong or over-preparation. He lived largely in God's open and healthy world of sunshine and fresh air. The ground about him was not polluted, and so he was healthy. It is for society to see that modern civilisation promotes this natural healthiness of men. The community should ever be on the alert against allowing pernicious customs and habits of health to arise. And we must ever remember that as we work for a healthy nation we have Nature on our side. It is our duty to help man maintain his normal conditions of existence.

*Man is Free in Community.*—Secondly, *man is born to be free.* Today how often we admire the freedom of the comparatively primitive man! It is to be recognised that modern man has done much to enlarge that freedom. However, he has also done much to re-enslave man! But this freedom, it will be noted, is not the freedom of an irresponsible individual. It is the freedom of an individual living in a community. Man is dependent upon the family as also upon his tribe or caste. And today he is becoming more and more dependent upon the World Community. Hence, as we build up the services of the community we have no right to enslave man in a new way. In the true community man must find his larger freedom. As already stated, modern medicine all too often tends to enslave man in India, enslave him to drugs, to wrong habits, to wrong ideas of

living, to bad habits of eating, sleeping, etc. A friend of ours who has been getting wheat bran from the other side of the world suffered when the war prevented the supply of it. He wrote to us in despair. We told him of the tons of rice bran wasted in India—at least comparatively wasted so far as man was concerned. But so; India is becoming accustomed to a rice-mill civilisation which takes off the valuable bran-food and leaves a white substance that has little food value. A land of rice has no bran for man to eat! Meanwhile research in this faraway country from which wheat bran was being obtained has shown that rice bran is superior to wheat bran!

A few days ago we overheard a middle-class man abusing a druggist because the latter could not get "Horlick's Milk" for him. And yet ordinary cow's milk is just as good if not better. In fact, India is full of potential food and medicine. Every one's garden is full of wild things which we are gradually learning, have health-giving properties. But the present medical system does not help us to know or use them. It makes us think of articles thousands of miles away and of things too costly for most of us to buy and whose nutritious value is dubious. For example, a year ago I found that my blood count was low. Tonics were advised. Fortunately we knew what food was needed. Pulses such as green gram proved useful in building up the blood again. Six months later, after another checkup, we found that my blood was quite normal again. Not one pie was spent for expensive tonics which we could not afford. But who tells the poor villager of these important matters!

In many Indian homes a drink is made from the sacred plant, *tulsi*. We often make a similar drink for the morning in our own home. We are now told by scientists that it has food and medicinal qualities. We use other plants also from the garden in the preparation of health giving beverage. The medicinal properties of these village plants and roots still remain to be known in scientific

detail. The old grandmothers know how to use many of these plants. There is no doubt that the fields and woods are full of foods and medicines which at present largely go to waste, although we are often in great need of them. That empirical knowledge is fast dying out and must be revived at all costs.

*Health Should be Swadeshi.*—Knowledge of health should be made available to the villages and it can be made so if we put our hands to the task. The medical profession, the State and the interested public should get together and work at this problem with patience, enthusiasm and industry. There are plenty of home remedies and valuable health customs. There is plenty of knowledge for a start. We must go ahead, collect the same, make further investigations, and gradually build up a health service that will be sufficient for our needs. It can be achieved, indeed, at very little cost.

*The Village as Potential Health Centre.*—Thirdly, the village is a potential health centre, even more than is the city. In the villages we always have plenty of sunlight and open fresh air. Some men who seem to have had tuberculosis when young, today show driedup spots in their lungs. Evidently, in these cases, the open and fresh air of village life, with a body growing strong, took care of itself and health returned to normal. Bare bodies, working in the health-giving rays of the sun are all to the good. Oil baths and basking in the sun are without doubt healthy customs in S. India, for Vitamin D is thus supplied to the body free of charge.

We have already spoken of the health-giving plants and roots. The little wild gooseberry (Nellikai) of S. India has a superabundance of Vitamin C, while the average loose-jacket orange contains almost nothing. Yet we despise the common berry and pay large sums of money for an orange with-reputation but without the supposed food value. The countryside is full of greens, all potential for health, especially in calcium so necessary for the body: the

body of the child and pregnant mother in particular.

Then there are the old village customs: the cup of buttermilk, the prepared drinks, the fermented foods which have as much or more yeast than the prepared yeast we are often told to buy at the druggists. A year ago I watched villagers soak Bengal gram and germinate it over night. The next morning they mixed it with a peculiar local red soil for protection from worms and bugs, allowed it to dry and then put it away to use as needed. It was a most impressive method, although these illiterate villagers could not tell one why they did it. They prepared the grain and it was a toothsome edible very easily digestible. They were quietly increasing its food value, and that without cost. They were carrying on an important process that the scientist now knows has great value. The split *dhals*, commercially prepared and preserved, lose the most valuable part. Small wonder the worms and bugs are not interested in them! Such village methods deserve to be observed and known and encouraged. And when they become laborious, perhaps we can help the villager to shorten his process and make it more easy by working on a community basis. The fact is that the village is potential for health. We need to build upon that most important foundation but not from the medical school which fetches its inspiration from the West. The latter has its value but only when it is reoriented and integrated with the potential life of India.

*A Programme of Health for the Villages.*—But the village worker wants a programme at once! What should he do or follow immediately? Shall it be the regular and simple dispensary—a box of homeopathic or ayurvedic medicines as he tramps through the villages? Yes, do every little bit that we are sure will help, even in a small measure, the suffering villager. But let us have a much larger vision of our task.

First of all, let us ourselves radiate healthful living. The home of every national

worker ought to be an experimental laboratory of health. Gandhiji has set us the noble example. Yet often we find our selfless workers quietly going on in old ruts of unhealthy living. Every one should eat hand-hulled rice—rice with the bran. We should dispense with harmful tea and coffee—unessential to the villager and a drain on his already debt-ridden existence—and substitute healthy drinks which can be easily prepared under village conditions. The simple, cheap raw fruits and vegetables of the village ought to be eaten more. Preparation must be done more scientifically. And where the processes are laborious, which is a temptation to the villager to take to easy processes which are less exercising and may be unhealthy, we must experiment until we discover easier processes which may not impair the value of the food. Trench latrines should be provided so that the night soil is conserved for manure which is so needful in the villages. But at least some kind of latrine should be built in every case and used by all so that the beautiful village surroundings are not polluted and diseases bred.

Every home must have plenty of windows and ventilation. We know that the villager often has no blanket and shuts up his house to keep warm. But more often fear and superstition are at the root of this. The worker, at least, must set a better example and patiently work towards the realization of that day when all can afford the essentials of healthful living.

*A Wider Use of Food Resources.*—There are a growing number of books and articles on health and balanced diets. The national worker must keep in close touch with such and live accordingly. Hardly a day should be allowed to go by without his experimenting with these important matters in his own home. He should keep careful records of what happens. He will gather facts continually, record claims for health qualities of certain foods and roots and test the same. Extensive work and research are necessary

if we are to build up a scientific volume of facts that conduce to inexpensive health in the villages.

Last year we did not claim our grain rations for three months as we experimented with other unrationed grains such as Cambu, Cholam, Thenai and with root vegetables. No nation has such a rich variety of grains and grams as has India. But we must learn how to use them, for some are hard to digest. Others have some deficiency or other. But gradually in our home where we experimented we learnt how to use them all to our advantage; and later we learnt by patient search in the village itself. Stomachs were upset now and then. But now we use all these Indian foodstuffs and truly enjoy the large variety of taste and preparation. Our Indian sisters should learn how to make tasty recipes in their own unique ways with which they are well acquainted. They can build on the old Indian ways of combination and preparation, which have been evolved through centuries and are sound.

Yes, our first task is to learn ourselves how to live healthfully, and then to work out this most interesting and challenging, but trying, project creatively and persistently. Thousands of such workers and homes scattered throughout India are sure to work miracles in the nation's health in a brief time.

*Community Health.*—We must gradually encourage healthy community habits of living. When we start doing it in our own homes with our own selves and children, the important beginning may be said to have been made. Panchayats should provide community facilities for sanitation, such as clean and convenient latrines. They ought to insist on simple and minimum community habits of health such as compost pits for all wastes of the village in a common area just beyond the borders of the village. Better drainage, when necessary, ought to be provided thus preventing the breeding of mosquitoes and flies. Better still, each home should voluntarily transform its

cess pools into kitchen gardens. A plantain or a coconut at the opening of a drain—or a small garden of greens, will take all excess water and use it to good purpose. Thus sources of ill-health are transformed into sources of food to make the body stronger and healthier. But, it does seem to us, that the menace of malaria is growing to be more serious in India. Much can be done by the villager himself to prevent it. And the Government Departments of Health are ever ready to give their co-operation, in this direction. Such service may be given through education, prevention of disease, provision of medicine, etc. Panchayats and the public must make use of these facilities more freely. Public education in these matters is most important.

*Co-operative Medical Help.*—Medical services are necessary especially under present conditions; but they must be kept as simple as possible. They must be carried on by selfless workers. Here we can learn much from the experiences of that great Japanese slum and co-operative worker, Dr. T. Kagawa. In Bengal, at Sriniketan, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and his co-workers have done much pioneering work in village medical co-operatives. The problem bears more study by scientific workers. When poor people pay a small amount monthly into a common fund it is remarkable how much medical facility which is regular and efficient can be made available to everyone in the village. Here is a field of social work that is open to every village worker and yet we have done so little!

*National Centers of Village Health Research.*—A research center for village industries has been started at Maganwadi, near Wardha. Research work in basic education is being carried on at Sevagram and Delhi. It is now time that we started also research centers in village health. Individuals and a few small institutions have done their bit in this respect. But the time has come for us to work together on a national basis. There is voluminous information to

be gathered and checked from the village itself. Much experiment has yet to be carried out. Elementary training in health work should be given to all our village workers. These are but a few items in the huge programme which awaits our Nation's Health Pioneers who, we hope, will come forward to start their work soon.

There are several books available on medical and health work in the villages. This article is not intended to cover such ground. Our purpose is rather to appeal for a new approach to the national health problem. It is a challenge to national workers to a greater effort in this direction.

*Some Practical Suggestions.*—In closing it may be helpful if we outline a few simple suggestions to those keenly interested in starting humbly at the great task of village health. And let us never despise any earnest effort no matter how humble it is:—

1. Introduce good *milk goats* into the village; for they are the poor man's cows. They have been a great aid in village uplift in Japan and elsewhere.
2. Introduce good *egg-laying variety of chickens*. They are good scavengers. Eggs are nearly a balanced food and their use is *ahimsa* if unfertilized.
3. *Plant trees* for food and fuel. The drumstick tree leaves and fruit are very nutritious and easy to grow. Agathi tree leaves are high in food value. Papaya and plantain are easily grown and are of high food value. Plantains may be used entirely: fruit, flower, stalk and root!
4. *Introduce bees*. Honey is an easily digested sugar and has health-giving properties.
5. *Use all Indian grains and pulses* and in rotation.
6. *Sprout the pulses and grains* and increase their food and health-giving properties.
7. *Use jaggery (gur) or unrefined sugar*. It has minerals useful to the body. Refined sugar has been depleted of these food values which, some medical authorities claim, make it a poison to the body.

8. *Use hand-hulled rice.* The bran is rich in food value.
  9. *Use stone-ground flour.* Mill flour has lost some of its food value.
  10. *Use village ghani oil.* It is unadulterated. It is a village industry. Refined oil has lost most of its food value.
  11. *Use yeast-formed foods,* such as the S. Indian dosai and iddli.
  12. *Use pan-supari,* discreetly after meals. 6 beetle leaves with areca nut and chunam are equal to 10 oz. of milk in calcium.
  13. *Use the skins of vegetables and fruits.* Most of the mineral and vitamin content is in or near the skin.
  14. *Use the water in which grains and vegetables have been prepared.* Much food value has been dissolved into the water.
  15. *Bask in the sun,* after an oil bath and absorb Vitamin D.
  16. *For the intellectual and middle classes!* Work daily in the garden. Have fellowship with the "Holy Soil"!
- Some Helpful Books :*
- "Food" ... .. Robert McCarrison  
 "Food the Deciding  
 Factor" (Penguin Special) Frank Wokes  
 "Rice" An All-India Village Industries  
 Publication.  
 "Health Bulletin No. 23" Govt. of India  
 Publication.  
 "Health Bulletin No. 30" .. ..  
 "Handbook of Health  
 Education" U. S. A. Ruth E. Grout.  
 "Intensive Rural Hygiene  
 Work in Netherlands  
 India" J. L. Hydrick, M. D.  
 "Home & Village Doctor"  
 Satish Chandra Dasgupta  
 "Balanced Diet" Pamphlet No. 8  
 Bombay Pres. Baby & Health Week  
 Association  
*Pioneering Health Centers in India worth  
 studying :—*  
 Sriniketan (Shantiniketan)  
 Village Health Co-operatives...(Bengal)  
 Closepet Govt. of Mysore Village  
 Health Unit ... .. (Mysore)  
 Vellore Village Health Van  
 Service ... .. (Madras)  
 Chingleput Leper Asylum ... (Madras)  
 Christukula Ashram Village  
 Hospital ... .. (Madras)  
 Dr. M. E. Naidu's Nursing  
 Home (service of poor) (Travancore)  
 Red Cross Health Work ... (Delhi)

## Notes and News

THE Fifth Convocation of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences was held on Saturday, the 14th April, with Sir Sorab D. Saklatvala in the chair. A large and representative body of citizens attended the function. Dr. B. H. Mehta, the Acting Director of the Institute, gave a brief review of the work for the year 1944-45, a full report of which will be published in the September issue of the Journal.

Sir Sorab Saklatvala, welcoming the Convocation Speaker, Sir C. R. Reddy, the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, observed : "Since the days when education was commonly confused with mere book learning, the changes that the evolution of thought brings in its train have led to

progressive views in the educational sphere as in others ; and many and varied are the ideas afloat on the subject. That is all to the good, for it is a sign that education is coming into its own and that its vital importance to a nation is being realised. Since we have plans related to our agricultural economy and to our industrial development it is well that we should have comprehensive plans for the development of education also, such comprehensiveness as is manifest in what is commonly called the Sargent Scheme.

But valuable as planning is, and comprehensive planning at that, it is, I feel, even more necessary to be clear in our own minds about educational ideals and objec-

tives. Behind the plan there must be a practical ideal and a spirit of service. I feel that Sir C. R. Reddy in his career has shown us that a scholar far from being a mere visionary without a grasp of the things practical, can often be a useful and constructive citizen. It is this ideal education which we try to foster in the Tata Institute and I think we are singularly fortunate in having for our convocation speaker this year a man who embodies in his personality and career the successful combination of the scholar and the practical man.

Those who knew our distinguished guest in his younger days recall with pride the brilliant promise of his academic career both in Madras and Cambridge; this promise, as you know, he has splendidly fulfilled. Dr. Reddy had a distinguished career at Cambridge and early made his mark as a speaker in that hypercritical body of young debaters, the Cambridge Union. He was Secretary and Vice-President of the Union, a distinction rarely achieved by Indian students even in these days, and I believe he was the first Indian to be Vice-President of the Union.

Eloquence is somewhat suspect now, but though a practised speaker, Sir C. R. Reddy has never indulged in glib talk. He has always something useful to say, something practical, and he says it happily. He has made a mark both in the educational and political worlds. That in itself is a high recommendation; and, speaking impartially as a business man, I can say from observation that politicians as a rule do not look kindly on scholars and educationists in their turn are apt to patronise politicians. It is a remarkable achievement to have combined both roles so successfully.

A widely travelled man, Dr. Reddy has observed carefully many progressive movements in different parts of the world and, so far as our country is concerned, he has capitalised this experience to good purpose. I feel I am right in saying that the aim of an educationist is not merely to impart learning, but to guide knowledge to construc-

tive ends. Our honoured guest eminently fulfils this high purpose.

To the Tata Institute of Social Sciences his activities in the cause of social welfare are naturally of most interest. An awakened social conscience is, as every one realises, a great power for good, and Sir C. R. Reddy by his social welfare work has done much to promote it. From his practical example we can learn much. The Tata Institute is devoted to research in many social welfare problems, but such research is seldom an end in itself; it is only when we put into practice the teachings of our research studies that we carry the benefits of our investigations to those who primarily need them.

Sir Ramalinga Reddy is a man of many brilliant attainments and great versatility. We honour him for his learning. If I may say so, we honour him even more for his services on behalf of his less fortunate fellow men. To few scholars in our country has it been given to be of such practical benefit to their people. It is with great pleasure that I invite Sir Ramalinga Reddy to deliver the Convocation Address."

Sir C. R. Reddy commenced his Address by thanking the Trustees of the Institute for the honour of the invitation extended to him to deliver the customary Address at the Convocation. "I feel an added pleasure and piquancy on this occasion", continued the speaker, "for this is a day of happy recollections for me of my acquaintance, though casual, with the members of the Tata House. In 1913, I met Sir Dorab at Paris and Sir Ratan and Lady Tata in their palatial York House in London. The communist Saklatvala also was one of my acquaintances. Sir N. D. and Lady Saklatvala were fellow visitors at the same Hotel for over a month at Ooty and were thrown together a good deal. But most important, I am reminded today of Gokhale's whole-hearted appreciation of J. N. Tata, the illustrious founder of this House and of modern Indian industrial and scientific progress. Gokhale was my political Guru and he told me not once but many

times that J. N. Tata's industrial enterprise was applied nationalism, that the roots of his Napoleonic enterprises, which extended beyond industrial concerns, lay deep in patriotic pride and ambition. For, if he founded the Iron and Steel Institute, he also founded the Indian Institute of Science. It is to the Tatas and their Loan Scholarships that India owes her numerous and inspiring contacts with the West. I may recall that at one time the Government of India gave two Foreign Scholarships per year for the whole of India. Such was the meagre fare that the benign Government provided for our intellectual and cultural nurture! The Tatas have always been a Nation-building department. Now, in this Institute of Social Sciences they are combining the material and intellectual development that they had so far organized with a development of heart mainly and of head in equal measure for training persons, men and women, to modern scientific social service." After these introductory remarks Sir C.R. Reddy proceeded to deliver his Address the full text of which is given elsewhere in this issue of the Journal.

At the close of this enlightening and eloquent Address the Acting Director presented the graduating students to the Chairman for the presentation of the Diploma in Social Service Administration. The following is a list of the names of candidates with their respective theses subjects :—

1. Bhaskaran, P. A.....Cochin  
B. A., Madras University, 1941.  
A Socio-Economic Survey of 150 Working Class Families in the Tata Oil Mills Co., Ltd., Tatapuram, Cochin State.
2. Chatterji, B.....Bhoshangabad  
B. A., Nagpur University, 1941;  
LL. B. ,, ,, 1943.  
A Study of Adult Education Movement in India.
3. Dordi, Miss P. A.....Bombay  
B. A., Bombay University, 1943.  
A Case-Study of 50 Patients attending the Out-Patient Department of a General Hospital.
4. Ginwala, Miss P. F.....Broach  
B. A., Bombay University, 1942.  
A Survey of Municipal Primary Schools in Broach Town.
5. Gore, M. S.....Hubli  
B. A., Bombay University, 1942.  
A Study of the Conditions of Life and Work of Trained Men Graduate Teachers in Secondary Schools in the City of Bombay.
6. Kurup, Mrs. T.....Travancore  
B. A., Madras University, 1943.  
An Enquiry into the Life of Women Workers in the Coir Industry at Alleppy with particular reference to the Sociological and Economic Background.
7. Mehta, Miss S. F.....Bombay  
B. A., Bombay University, 1943.  
A Study of the Conditions of Life and Work of Trained Women Graduate Teachers in Secondary Schools in the City of Bombay.
8. Nanavatty, M.C.....Bombay  
B. Sc., Bombay University, 1943.  
A Survey of the Life and Work of the Tanners of the Lilapoor and Kacholi Villages in Surat District.
9. Pillay, G. S.....Travancore  
B. A., Madras University, 1939.  
A Socio-Economic Survey of the Working Class Families of the Aluminium Co. of India, Ltd.; Alwaye.
10. Rathod, J. L.....Bombay  
B. A., Bombay University, 1943.  
A Socio-Economic Survey of the Untouchables residing at Prabhadevi, Bombay.
11. Shaikh, R. A.....Bombay  
B. A., Bombay University, 1943.  
A Regional Social Survey of the Workers of Kurla.
12. Vakharia, Miss P. H.....Broach  
B. A., Bombay University, 1943.  
A Study of the Role of Non-satisfaction of Fundamental Emotional Needs in Children in Producing Behaviour Problems.

After the presentation of the Diplomas the function terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Speaker proposed by Dr. K. R. Masani of the Faculty.

## TATA INSTITUTE NEWS

**O**UR Director in U. S. A.—Dr. Jagadisan M. Kumarappa, director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay, recently completed the New York City part of his intercultural American tour. The first Indian to come to the United States under the U. S. Department of State's new programme of international cultural co-operation, Dr. Kumarappa is visiting social-welfare organizations, technical colleges, hospitals and social-science institutions. His tour will take him to all parts of the United States.

While in New York Dr. Kumarappa went to the Children's Court of the city, the Domestic Relations Court, the Fordham University School of Social Service, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of learning, the New York State Reconstruction Home for rehabilitation work, the foster-home department of the Children's Aid Society, the Russell Sage Foundation Library, the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, the Teacher's College of Columbia University, the Lexington School for the Deaf, the Lighthouse Industries for the Blind, and many others.

"The new scientific developments in social welfare I have seen here will be of great help in India where this type of work is only beginning", Dr. Kumarappa said.

He listed four purposes for his American mission: to study the set-up, techniques used, and methods of placement and after-care in welfare institutions; to visit correctional institutions for delinquents; to find out how medical social service work is organized and carried on in hospitals, and to visit technical schools and universities, investigating there the possibilities of scholarships for Indian students.

Upon his return to India Dr. Kumarappa

hopes to promote a closer relationship between his country and the United States by founding a Foreign University Bureau and an Institute of Cultural Co-operation. The Bureau would help Indian students get information about university scholarships available in America. The Institute, with branches in all sections of India, would help tourists to see and understand the Indian people and their culture.

During his two weeks in New York Dr. Kumarappa stayed at International House at Columbia University. His daughter, Prita, who has been studying in the United States for seven years, is a resident of the house.

While in the city, Dr. Kumarappa conferred with college presidents and institute directors, lunched with leading American social scientists and interviewed commissioners of education, social welfare and public health.

He addressed a forum at Columbia University, telling his audience, "India needs the material achievements of the West to conquer disease and poverty. America needs our great spiritual values developed through the ages."

Dr. Kumarappa works with the Division of cultural Co-operation of the U. S. Department of State in planning the itinerary for his American tour. From New York City he went to Cleveland, in the central state of Ohio, to attend the annual conference of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. He plans to travel through the central states, before going back east to Boston.

After visiting other north-eastern states Dr. Kumarappa will go to Chicago, industrial centre of the Middle West, where he will stay for two or three weeks, making side trips north into Wisconsin and Minnesota and west to Iowa.

From Chicago he has arranged to travel to the Pacific Coast State of California, visiting such cities as San Francisco and Los Angeles. Returning east, Dr. Kumar-



appa will travel through the southern states, stopping in Texas, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina before reaching Washington, D.C. From the capital city he plans his final trips, to Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

This intercultural mission is not Dr. Kumarappa's first visit to the United States. From 1908 to 1915 he attended Ohio Wesleyan University where he received his Bachelor of Arts degree. Later he received his S.T.B. (Bachelor of Sacred Theology) degree from Boston University and a Master of Art's degree from Harvard University. After nine years of teaching in India he returned to America in 1924 for four years. During this period he was awarded his Ph. D degree at Columbia University and travelled throughout the country, lecturing at various universities.—USOWI.

*Our Librarian.*—We are glad to note the success of our Librarian Mr. M. M. Joshi in the last examination for the Diploma in Librarianship of the Bombay University, held in March 1945.

After a successful College career Mr. Joshi took his B.A. degree with Honours in Economics. He passed his M.A., in Second Class with Sociology, History and Politics. In 1942-44 he was a student of the Tata Institute, from where he took his Diploma in Social Service Administration. Immediately after completing his studies at the Institute he joined our Staff as the Librarian. He attended the course in Librarianship last year and secured that Diploma.

Besides his work as Librarian, he is working as a Field Work Assistant in the Institute.

#### THE NEW WOMEN MOVEMENT IN INDIA

##### *Development of Social Consciousness*

**W**HEN the final chronicle of the twentieth century comes to be written, probably the most remarkable feature in its annals will be the history of the development of woman. Far and wide throughout the world today a new energy is spreading

amid the ranks of women of every class. This activity among women is a sign of good, for it is at one with an inclination towards a more universal brotherhood that is sweeping over mankind.

So widespread a feeling must be taken seriously. Above the strife and noisy extravagance of the public champions of the cause of women, there is a true and earnest endeavour which the thoughtful mind of either sex acknowledges and approves. It is, however, overlooked that each country has its own peculiar phase of the woman question. Some of the actions of their sisters in other lands may seem to them worthy of adaptation ; others may be avoided.

Fortunately there is no longer need to ask by what means woman may rise to a higher and nobler position. The woman of the East, like the woman of the West, may depend upon this, that in the proper use of education lies the salvation of her sex. As long as she is ignorant, so long will she remain dejected, oppressed, incapable of sharing man's pursuits and ideals. But educate her, and she will respond to the changed environment.

The Indian ideal of womanhood differs from that prevalent in Europe and America, and, therefore, the methods of education to be adopted for our countrywomen will naturally differ accordingly. But the aim of all education should be to teach the pupil to apply her acquired knowledge to the pursuit of daily life, to fit her, not unfit her, for the position she will have to fill.

In this there need be no question of actual comparison with man, no thought of surpassing, or even of equalling him. The highest aim of her education should be to fit her to work freely and bravely with man; or if not with him, then alongside him, for the benefit of the human race. The spiritual side of woman's nature is the complement of the material side of man's. Hitherto these faculties have often been separate. Who can tell what the combination of the two,

working together in perfect harmony, may not achieve ?

*Careers for Women.*—When so many callings are now attracting women's attention, it might not be amiss, before considering in detail the chief of the more novel careers open to them, to note briefly the general conclusions arrived at concerning their success or failure in such occupations as engage their activities at present.

The coming of the machine into so many of the processes of production, distribution and commercial activities has reduced the labour of hundreds of men and women to that of unskilled and casual employment. If interest is to be maintained in the job we must look to the educative forces to give that wider vision which will recognise the essential importance of even the smallest fraction of a process in the completion of the whole.

It is inevitable that as the years go by we shall have to concentrate upon those forms of educational efforts in all directions which will create good citizens, capable of lending a hand in any part of the vast machine of industry which feeds, clothes and educates the nation—capable, above all, of such resources that in their leisure time those workers whose jobs may be uninteresting will yet preserve a personality and character which enriches the culture of the community.

There is no doubt that women will probably never be efficient substitutes for men in hard manual labour necessary in some callings, but if they are given proper theoretical and practical training, there are numerous other ways in which their services may be rendered invaluable. They can aid the community with counsel and ideas, and can even undertake the entire superintendence and commercial direction, including book-keeping, distribution of produce, etc., in the economy of the country.

*Arts and Crafts.*—In these days of competition one very well knows that to be successful it is necessary to get trained

thoroughly for any sort of job, even for the still very popular and most absorbing occupation in the world—that of wife and mother. It is obvious that the things you ought to learn if you wish to be thorough are not limited to those connected directly with your home, but include allied matters. This reflection is true of anything into which artistic skill enters, and it is the business of woman to see that the scanty pittance hitherto earned by her sex in her vocation shall be substantially increased.

Moreover, our arts and industries ought to be encouraged, since in them the true artistic spirit is revealed, and the crafts-woman, watching the design grow beneath her deft fingers, can derive the same deep delight from the beauty of form and line, as the artisans of Cutch and Cuttack take in the creations of their clever hands. The requisite qualities for such work are an artistic sense, a capacity for designing and modelling, and a certain deftness of manipulation.

A woman gifted with these may find most of these rather interesting and useful. For instance, an enterprising woman who takes to book binding, might with advantage specialise in binding the sacred Scriptures of the Hindus and Muslims. Similarly, lace-making, weaving, rug-making, decorative painting, embroidery, and the many branches of decorative needlework are valuable as affording pleasant home-work to women. Organisations of such crafts-women can best be started by women of leisure, who have time and means at their disposal to direct the work, and consider both the purchaser's and producer's interests.

It should, however, be remembered that none should attempt to earn a living by any of these artistic callings unless they are filled with keen enthusiasm for the work. The beginner will always find it easy going on pleasant paths ; a large stock of energy, perseverance, and business initiative is essential to success. Yet, if these qualities are present, the pursuit of art in any shape or form will prove an absorbingly delightful

vocation, and one on which a woman may enter not merely as a means of supplying the daily bread for the body, but as a joyous work into which she can throw her whole heart and soul.

*Intellectual Callings.*—Besides, there are countless ways in which a really intellectual woman may exercise her powers. She may go in for chemistry, and, like Madame Curie, give to the world some fresh discovery—such as radium—as the result of her scientific research. She may adopt medicine as a career or enter the realm of literature and win distinction as authoress or journalist. Or she may follow a path in which she is universally admitted to stand unrivalled—a social worker. Here, as elsewhere, the cardinal rule is specialisation, but specialisation on top of a broad general knowledge.

In connection with art, music, literature, nursing, hygiene, domestic science, social schemes, there is an infinite variety of subjects to choose from, and if lecturing-tours on an extended scale were organised and carried out by eloquent speakers, they might become a feature of women's life which would do much to broaden their mental outlook. Science is a subject of which women of all classes are mostly very ignorant; Physiology, too, is a domain in which they badly need instruction.

The profession of lecturer has the advantage of not monopolising the whole time of the woman who devotes herself to it. It can be carried on in addition to her household duties, and so need entail no sacrifice of home interests. Undertaken as a social work, it is a valuable means of imparting knowledge on medicine, cookery, etc., to the poor. To the poor the spoken word always comes with greater force than the written message, and in a country like India, where so large a population is illiterate, it seems absolutely the only expedient to reach them all.

The aim of all social and philanthropic work is the same, whether it be undertaken

as honorary employment, or for a fixed salary. To relieve suffering humanity, to remedy the evils of our social system—these are the woman's rightful spheres. Today, with the spread of education, it is the cultured woman's great privilege to help her poorer sisters to understand the all-important principles of hygiene, the value of self-reliance, her responsibility as a human being and as a citizen.

*Greater Economic Strength.*—Indian history, culture and civilisation not only have a rich contribution to make to ideas about life, but will play an increasingly larger role in the years to come as India develops greater economic strength. To fulfil ourselves, to live a fuller life,—that must be our aim, and it is achieved by developing the splendid potentialities with which we come into this world. Our talents must be disciplined, just as trees are pruned, for otherwise they will not bear good fruit.

In the economic sphere it is an acknowledged fact that poverty is an ever growing menace in our land. The bare necessities of life are no longer available to the really poor who constitute the majority of our population. The villagers who should be, and used to be, self-supporting, are now unable to provide themselves and their children with adequate food and clothing. And, perhaps, the greatest tragedy of all is the fact that those who live under these well-nigh insufferable conditions, have become so abject that they appear to be content to remain as they are.

While we are struggling and working for political freedom, educational and social reform and economic reconstruction, we must never forget that no amount of reform or legislation, will avail us anything if we do not lay hold on the most essential things of all—the moral and spiritual values of life. It is this anchor alone that will hold through the strain and stress of life, whether it be the life of an individual or a community or a nation.

Let us therefore plan our lives. Let us

make up our minds how we shall develop our qualities, how we shall strengthen our character. Let us formulate a philosophy of life, cultivate as many interests as we can, so that if one fails others will remain. That is the only way to face and prepare for the future.

MISS WAHIDA AZIZ

### THE INHUMAN TRADE

IN the early years of the twentieth century some Jewish tradesmen and manufacturers started a trade in skins of newly born lambs. These soft skins opened new channels of profits for the dealers. Fancy articles started coming into the market with good prospects of lucrative business. Herdsmen on the north-western frontier of India were perhaps the pioneer suppliers of these skins. Immediately after their birth lambs were mercilessly slaughtered and their skins sold to the agents of the Jewish businessmen. With a view to get extra-soft skins the herdsmen were persuaded to butcher pregnant sheep and goats and thereby obtain skins of lambs still in the womb of the mother. This trade has been on the increase for some years in the past. In this way a mother could give pelts only once. In order to increase the production of pelts the dealers began to practise abortion on the mother in more than one ways whereby they aimed to get several crops of pelts from the same mother in quick succession.

According to the Report of the Board of Economic Enquiry as prepared under the supervision of the Director of Industries, Punjab, Peshawar had by the year 1932 grown into a big market for the supply of pelts. This trade gradually spread into other parts of the country and soon the centre of the trade shifted from Peshawar to Multan and Delhi with Sialkot, Kasur, Amritsar, Jullundur, etc., as feeder markets. In March 1937 the daily arrival in Delhi of these pelts was 15,000. During the same period Multan was exporting 12,000 such skins daily. How horrible and exten-

sive a destruction to the cattle wealth of India!

These skins are exported from India to England whence the same are distributed to other countries. India is the leading country for the supply of pelts while Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Abyssinia and certain parts of Russia come next as suppliers of pelts.

Akin to pelts in lambs of goats and sheep, a trade in skins of 'unborn' calves has also sprung up and its demand is constantly increasing. America is the leading buyer of kid pelts. To meet the demands abroad, cows in pregnancy are being mercilessly butchered and skins of their unborn calves are being exported to foreign countries. Dealers state that it is always very profitable to kill the best of the pregnant cows as good money is received for the extra soft skin of the unborn calf, the rare meat of the unborn calf, the beef of the mother, the hide of the mother, and offal, horns, and bones of the mother cow. Recently more than 800 skins of unborn calves have been discovered from the go-down of one single *artia* in Delhi alone. This shows how tremendously this inhuman trade is increasing.

The above mentioned trade in skins of 'unborn' cattle is spelling a destruction to the cattle wealth of India that is unprecedented in the history of the whole world. The milk-starved masses of India are facing serious famine of dairy products. The health of the nation is in grave danger. Every effort should be made to make this inhuman trade impossible. Will public-spirited individuals and societies and the Government take immediate steps? Now is the right time to do it.

*Honorary Secretary,*

ALL INDIA CATTLE WELFARE SOCIETY

### ROAMING AUCTIONEERS

ROAMING auctioneers are a type of sellers found in Bombay. They are persons who carry and exhibit for sale all kinds of articles, pens, watches, soaps, torch lights and sundry gew-gaw. They sometimes

sell only piece-goods like rugs, carpets, cloths for clothing, curtains, etc. They exhibit these articles usually on the footpaths and public squares and invite buyers with strikingly low prices.

Thus a pocket or a wrist watch is cried out for eight annas: and this 'submarine price' attracts, in a little while, a fairly big crowd. One individual in the crowd bids the watch for ten annas as the article under auction passes round the crowd for scrutiny. Another person raises the bid to twelve annas and the challenge thus rises upto one rupee, 'a rock bottom price' even at that. The auctioneer proclaims in various gestures, his unwillingness to part with the article about to be knocked off at such a demonstrably low price. He cries out in wheedling, challenging and sometimes pathetic tones for higher bidders. Dispute, discussion and doubt hold sway over the bidders and possible bidders in the crowd. The auctioneer notices the psychological moment. The crowd who are there to see the *tamasha* have become business-like and many potential bidders have even turned speculators. Out come jingling pieces of coins from the pocket of the auctioneer; and from among the change he picks out a two-anna piece and offers it to the bidder as compensation if he would abandon the bid to save loss to the auctioneer. The bidder is usually adamant. He insists on a closure and on the article being sold out to him. The auctioneer offers four annas as compensation. The indignant bidder would have nothing of it: he must take the article and the article only.

Some ambitious person in the crowd notices the chance of earning four annas by bidding higher. Luckless fellow! He steps forward and raises the bid to one rupee and eight annas, thus superseding the previous bidder who loses his chance of getting the article at the price he had offered and consequently loses also the chance of getting the compensation. But the auctioneer has by now accomplished his purpose. He has created a psychological tension, a competing at-

mosphere, a speculative obsession, a species of gangsterism amongst the crowd around. He sits collected, for he is now assured of selling out all his ware. He has set the flame kindled; all he has to do is to watch the flies drawn into the flame. The bid mounts gradually, but surely, to six or seven rupees and sometimes even ten or fifteen according to the temper and buying capacity of the bidders. As the competing bidders raise the bid, the auctioneer keeps on offering higher compensation, thus tempting and goading the buyers to outbid one another. When the amount offered for the watch has reached a fairly high point, say ten rupees, and when the auctioneer realizes that he can no further coax the bidders to raise the price, he calls upon the highest bidder to swear that the bid was entered upon with a view to buy the article and not to make money out of the compensation that may be offered. The bidder most solemnly declares that he entered upon the bid to take the article while he only hopes the compensation money held out by the auctioneer may be given to him. The auctioneer asks the bidder to produce the money which the bidder has offered for the article, as a guarantee of good faith. The possession on the part of the bidder of the amount of money at which the article in question has been bid, is always made a condition, which alone entitles the bidder to claim compensation in the event of his not insisting on a closure. When the bidder takes the oath the auctioneer, contrary to the expectation and hope of the bidder, declares the bid as having closed in favour of the bidder. The bidder is thus caught in the bargain and he has no option but to part with Rs. 10/- and take the article, which is actually worth about Rs. 3/- or Rs. 4/-.

In this manner roaming auctioneers move from place to place in the City inveigling buyers. The cleverness and cunning of the auctioneer consists in transferring the attention of the crowd from the articles exhibited to the compensation payment held

out, as also in inspiring among the bidders a passion to compete. When once competitors have entered the field the auctioneer should continue to kindle the passion he has raised by following each higher bid with a correspondingly higher compensation money. The whole show is managed with such mastery of situation that very rarely the auctioneer fails to get the highest price for his articles. The success of the auctioneer depends on his ability to degenerate the morale of the crowd. One way in which he accomplishes this degeneration is by really parting with compensation money many times in the initial stages of the auctions. They are fortunate, indeed, who actually get compensation money and immediately leave the place : but such modest and wise earners are a rare species!

One other remarkable fact is, the crowd contains unnoticed by any, an individual who is the auctioneer's own man. Sometimes there may be even two or more men of the auctioneer. It is easy to see how these individuals enact between themselves a very exciting bargain, in which for want of higher bidders the auctioneer loses a big amount in the shape of compensation money.

This ruse helps to draw in speculators.

Such peripatetic auctioneers are usually paid or commissioned agents of big firms who, in this way, find means of disposing of their wares. Since the success of the auctioneer depends on the credulity and pliability of the crowd on whom he has to work, the auctioneer selects such localities and times where and when he may have an advantage. Mill areas and poorer localities in Bombay like Parel, Tardeo, Worli, Kamatipura, Sewri, Mahim and such other places are the favourite ones of these auctioneers. Though the auctioneers are busy on all days in the week and month, they are never so active and numerous as on pay-days, and also on holidays, particularly feast-days. Enquiries on this subject reveal the fact, that this nefarious system of wandering auctioneers festers at the underworld of most of our big cities. Whether these auctioneers extend their spoliations to the more ignorant country-side, is more than we can affirm. But it is a possible contingency against whose hazards we may well insure with present remedies that pluck the evil to its roots.

M. V. MOORTHY

## Book Reviews

*Infants Without Families.*—BY DOROTHY BURLINGHAM AND ANNA FREUD. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1943. Pp. 108. Price 5 Sh.

This book discusses the subject of Residential Nurseries for children from birth to five years. It is an interesting study based on the observations carried on in three recent wartime Residential Nurseries in London. The authors attempt to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of residential life at different phases and in different aspects of the infant's developments, from the angle of emotional growth and character and personality formation. In doing so they have discussed in detail all the

important aspects in which residential life differs from normal family life, and how these differences affect the growth of the child's personality. In the course of this discussion they have also traced the lines along which the normal development of personality takes place.

Referring to the first two years of the child's life when muscular control, speech development, habit training, and feeding are the four main aspects of development, the authors have noted the following findings: The institutional child in the first two years has advantages in all those spheres of life which are independent of the emotional side of his nature; he is at a dis-

advantage wherever the emotional tie to the mother or to the family is the main spring of development.

The development of the child's emotional life under institutional conditions, however, forms the main trend of the study. Here the authors point out that the institutional child, while he lacks the opportunities for the satisfaction of an important instinctual need for an early attachment to the mother, is overwhelmed with opportunities to make contact with playmates of his own age. Emotional contact with other children is thus "precociously stimulated and developed". The authors illustrate by means of numerous examples how children under these circumstances develop a range of reactions in their relations with one another. The authors however add, "It is a fallacy to conclude that the variety of emotions which the young child in a residential nursery develops towards the playmates of its own age group, can make up in any way for the emotions which it would direct normally towards its parents. The latter remain undeveloped and unsatisfied".

The results of the experiment tried in the Residential Nurseries, of introducing the mother relationship, by dividing the larger groups into family units of three, four or five, with a young nurse or teacher in charge of each unit, are interesting. The authors noticed that "the child who forms this kind of relationship to a grown up, not only becomes amenable to educational influence in a very welcome manner but shows more vivid and varied facial expressions, develops individual qualities and unfolds his personality in a surprising way". On the other hand, they found that family arrangements of this kind brought in many complications and disturbances, as children who were adopting and accommodating under group conditions suddenly became "insufferably demanding and unreasonable". They also found that the change of the nurses, which was unavoidable when nurses left, disturbed the children very much, creating a situation

analogous to the separation from the mother. In spite of all these disturbing factors and difficulties encountered, the authors rightly stress the need for the introduction of the mother relationship in the Residential Nursery as an essential requisite for laying the foundation for character formation.

The authors then proceed to examine how far these emotional relationships with grown-ups who are turned into parent substitutes in the Residential Nursery satisfy the natural desires of the child and how far they fail in this respect. In this connection they show how and in what ways home conditions normally provide for the satisfaction of these desires, and add, "whatever efforts a residential nursery may make to offer home care to the infant, the lack of satisfaction given to these primitive desires will remain enormous". They show how the lack of such gratification leads to increase of autocrotic activities like thumb-sucking, rocking or masturbation which diminish the child's interest in its surroundings. They also show how the lack of opportunities in institutional life to satisfy the child's wish to be admired, and his infantile curiosity, which in family life find so much scope for satisfaction, result in limiting his personality development. "Early instinctive wishes", according to the authors, "have to be taken seriously not because their fulfilment or refusal causes momentary happiness or unhappiness, but because they are the moving powers which urge the child's development from primitive self interest and self indulgence towards an attachment and consequently towards adaptation to the grown up world".

Lastly, the authors discuss the growth of the child's personality under institutional conditions and here they point out how in an important respect, namely, in the formation of the super ego or conscience the institutional child is at a very great disadvantage. The institutional child, according to them, may acquire methods of social adaptation, it may acquire conventional behaviour patterns in obedience to the nursery routine

and imitation of its elders, but neither of these processes, though adding to its personality, will lead to the embodiment of moral values. These moral values are dependent on the strength of the emotional attachments that the child is able to form. They therefore conclude: "Success or failure of education will depend on the strength of the child's attachment to the grown-ups in the nursery. If these relationships are deep and lasting, the residential child will take the usual course of development, form a normal superego and become an independent moral and social being. If the grown-ups of the nursery remain remote and impersonal figures, or if, as happens in some nurseries, they change so often that no permanent attachment is effected at all institutional education will fail in this important respect".

This book is very valuable to all those concerned with the care and guidance of children.

INDIRA RENU

*Struggling Heights.*—BY PROF. H. D. SETHNA,  
Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay,  
1944. Price Re. 1-4-0.

It is unusual for a Journal devoted to Social Service to receive a book of poems for review. "Struggling Heights" by Prof. H. D. Sethna, Karnatak Publishing House, is welcome as a poet's reaction to modern times. Emotion has played no mean part in human history, and the poet has appeared at every dawn or the birth of a new age. It is but natural that most of Mr. Sethna's

poems are inspired by the Freedom theme; but between this urge for experiencing earth's richest gift and the spiritual longings of his sensitive mind, he does not fail to hear

"The cry of poverty  
and the pain  
Of burning desires  
Nourished in vain".

The social worker needs as much the inspiration of the poet, as the human being in all other aspects of life, and we sincerely hope that more and more, the Indian poet will give his soaring genius, a chance to roam the world of Poverty and Slums to paint with the magic of his words, pictures of Reality and Truth.

The poet's reactions to life are ever fresh, and there is no wonder Mr. Sethna in one of his poems asks: "Spirit of Suffering, why art thou at my country's door"? But to the social worker the Spirit of Suffering is no new guest, nor has he failed to notice its sad presence at all times, in every corner of the globe. This Spirit stirs the emotions of the poet, and makes him welcome it as his "country's guest", whilst the same suffering haunts the social worker as a challenge to his wisdom and his ability for Action.

B. H. MEHTA

*On line 29 of page 272 in Vol. V, No. 4 read:*

"Parent and Child" for "Planning for America".



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# **MOBILIZING SOCIAL SERVICES IN WARTIME**

*Edited by*  
**J. M. KUMARAPPA**

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## CAN INDIA BE UNITED ?

Stereotyped thinking has practically sterilized the mind of most of our countrymen, and for the problems of polity, foreign remedies are readily imported with little consideration for their suitability. The consequence is either a slow and barren experiment or a continuous deadlock. Years of talking and writing have brought India no nearer to freedom or to unity. Here is a stimulating essay which offers a few absorbing alternatives for all to come together under a constitution based on an uncommon principle. With the help of this principle the author brings about a blending of all interests and groups, each one counter-balancing the other. What the writer thus achieves is a picturesque and cogent synthesis of conflicting elements by a technique new in its application, though derived from the ancient philosophy of 'unity in diversity'.

Now that the Global War has terminated, various questions the world over are being placed on the anvil of thought and discussions in the hope that mankind may achieve that abiding peace and goodwill for which humanity is still impatiently waiting. India, perhaps more than most other countries, has her own problems of great magnitude to solve, and these have now assumed an urgency.

2. It was unfortunate that the 'Cripps' Offer' as well as the Simla Conference of June and July 1945 proved abortive. What Next? This is the question which must be uppermost in the thoughts of all—European and Indian—who have the best interests of India at heart. Many have been despondent at the failures mentioned above. But there need be no despondency or alarm. If the country is prepared to adjust its method of analysing the available material both in relation to prevailing circumstances and in the light of past history and so to place its problems in their correct perspective, India should be able to transform the picture of despondency to one of hope and cheer.

3 Modern democracy has territorial or geographical constituencies as its principal foundation, and geographical distinctions are considered by many mainly in terms of physical conditions. In one sense this is a correct approach, but it is not a complete concept. Politics and

economics too have their own geography ; and so has society. Various suggestions have been made during the last few years for the solution of India's constitutional problem. Some of them are based upon considerations of languages, rivers, or provinces ; while others advocate the division of India from the points of view of railways groups or zones. These may be wise suggestions ; but they have nothing definite to offer. They are too nebulous. Hence, they have not made the country wiser nor have they taken it anywhere. Society the greatest and most important of all considerations—has not been given any thought at all so far. Upon it and its precepts, rest all mankind and humanity—anywhere and everywhere. The object of this essay is therefore to avoid further nebulous narrations and replace them by solid suggestions which take into account the due value of society, for *until social geography is rightly understood and given its full weight in the future plans, many a problem, at least of India, is likely to remain unsatisfactorily solved.*

4. The solution of India's political problems has always been tackled from an entirely wrong standpoint. Perhaps in no other country of the world does society manifest itself in so wide a variety of social communities, some of them as large as nations in themselves. Nevertheless India has long been considered a single Country and is still so considered.

And yet it is a continent containing nations and not communities. What is considered a community in India, would be a nation in Europe. The Swiss, the Portuguese, or the Hungarians may claim, and rightly so, that they are all distinct nations. Similarly with the Italians, French, Germans, Poles, Dutch, Danes, etc. Having been Members of the League of Nations, they are all formally recognised as separate nations. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that they are not communities or National Communes in the Society of Europe, if the word 'Communities' is given the same connotation as in India. India, therefore, has nothing to be ashamed of, for these communities, as elsewhere, merely connote and constitute component elements in society. On the contrary India should be proud of its vastness and of the possession of communities that elsewhere would be regarded as nations.

5. But what should be done to weld together these nations and other elements into a harmonious whole in the best interest of the sons and the soil of the country and in the light of these indigenous texture of India's society and traditions ? That is the crucial question. Western democracy has been tried over and over for the last half century or more, and it should, by now, be quite obvious that it will not suit India. Had the Occidental variety of democracy been suitable for this country, it would have succeeded years ago. It has not yet come up to the expectations of the West itself which is endeavouring to discover ways and means of removing a number of its glaring shortcomings. It should be evident that what suits one may not necessarily suit another. It would therefore be political insanity for India to hang on any longer to the system which is not only a proved failure, but has brought about more and more disunity

among the various elements comprising this country. It has been India's misfortune that it has usually tended, for perhaps more reasons than one, blindly to desire, copy or adopt things which have not given lasting satisfaction elsewhere. This unfortunate tendency will have to be checked, and checked immediately. India will have to mould its own destiny. The absence of India's mention from the immediate Five Point Plan of the present British Government, as well as the Prime Minister's promise of "political liberty for India if the Indians can achieve it themselves," according to a newspaper report of 26th July from London, should supply ample food for serious thought and action. But India must get out of its present rut of unfruitful political thinking. What is required is original thinking. There should no longer be any doubt left in the mind of a 'self-reliant' thinker, who sincerely wishes well of India, that a system of democracy suited to the Orient has to be devised which would not only be equitable in its principles, practical in its actual working and in keeping with the genius of the people, but would also be acceptable to India as a whole so that she can say aloud with one voice : "We are united ; now we shall have what we want."

6. What should this new system be ? The cries 'let us sink our prejudices,' 'let us unite,' and 'let us forget our differences' have been of no avail. No endeavours have been seriously made in proper detail to find the key to the deadlock. There can be one and only one key : 'Parity in Partnership' and 'Equality of Representation.' Bearing in mind the noble principle of self-determination that has been fully recognised by the freedom-loving peoples of the world, it should not be difficult for India to comprehend this basic truth : the least that anybody

naturally demands is equality of voice so that all may have the secure feeling that their future is not in danger. *That is the key. Apply it to the deadlock. Every heart entangled in it would secure release and respond to the tenets of democratic freedom.*

7. This brings us to the 'Principle of Parity.' The Conference of leaders convened in June, 1945, by the Viceroy at Simla, as well as the broad principles of the Sapru Committee report, published two months earlier, were valuable fore-runners. It was a pity that the Simla Conference broke on a side-issue. But no observer or other student of politics could have failed to notice (a) that it did not break on the point of the principle of parity, and (b) that it was on this principle that for the first time Indian leaders gathered together in a Conference of this nature and came within measureable distance of success. This cannot be ignored as an additional indication, if not a fairly convincing proof, that the future structure of India's political ambitions must be built upon the foundations of the principle of parity if it is the desire of political engineers to complete the structure with any success. *If democracy recognises the principle of "One Man, One Vote" as just and fair irrespective of disparities in the individual head and heart, why should it not be counted as equally democratic (at least for India) to treat units on a basis of parity for the purposes of representation regardless of 'populational' differences?* The units of the U.S.S.R. provide an interesting parallel, as Dr. G. V. Deshmukh ably revealed in his letter to the President and Members of the Congress Working Committee. (*Free Press Journal* of 16th September 1945).

8. The Indian States have always  
• shown their willingness to become partners

in a common constitution of India and to give their due share in helping it achieve its rightful place in the comity of nations. Circumstances now favour the contemplation of a permanent constitution rather than of an interim. No constitution for the whole of India can be considered complete without the inclusion of the States. Moreover, as their numbers happen to furnish, for establishing the strength of the Assembly, a basis which, unless it were arbitrary, might not otherwise be readily available (*vide* Appendix), the States have been incorporated in the proposals which now follow.

9. **The Central Assembly.**—(a) The National elements of India comprise the following interests as enumerated alphabetically :—

1. Agriculturists (Kisans)
2. Anglo-Indians
3. Europeans
4. Indian Christians
5. Communist Party
6. Congress
7. Hindu Mahasabha
8. Hindus : other than those belonging to either the Hindu Mahasabha or the Congress (and hereinafter referred to as the rest of the Hindus)
9. Industries
10. Labour
11. Landholders
12. Liberals
13. Muslim League
14. Muslims : other than those belonging to either the Muslim League or the Congress (and hereinafter referred to as the rest of the Muslims)

15. Parsees
16. Radical Democrats
17. Scheduled Castes
18. Sikhs
19. States

It is hoped that the above list is inclusive of almost all the principal elements—Social, Political and Economic. These groups must necessarily have individual representation in the common Assembly of the Federation of India, or whatever it may be called. Any other elements which may have been omitted unwittingly and are considered worthy of representation should also find a place in the Assembly.

10. **Alternative I.**—It would, of course, be ideal if there could be general agreement that each of the nineteen national elements of the country should be equally represented in the Assembly. But because India is now endeavouring to step out of the confines of ingrained distrust and disunity into the boundless spaces of harmony and goodwill, it would be too much to expect such concord in the initial stage of political advancement towards the goal of ultimate desire. This suggestion is therefore ruled out for practical reasons.

11. **Alternative IIA.**—A slightly less Utopian idea would be to have the following three Blocks of equal sizes :

I.	(a) MUSLIM LEAGUE	64	} 128 (112)*
	(b) REST OF THE MUSLIMS (which would have parity inter se)	(56)* 64 (56)*	
II. STATES :	(a) Original Members of the Chamber of Princes	108 (108)*	} 128 (112)*
	(b) Representative Members as they are at present	10 (4)*	
	(c) 2 extra seats each for Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Mysore	10 (Nil)*	

III. THE REST :			} 128 (112)*
(a)	Agriculturists (Kisans)		
(b)	Anglo-Indians		
(c)	Europeans.		
(d)	Indian Christians		
(e)	Communist Party		
(f)	Congress		
(g)	Industries		
(h)	Hindu Mahasabha	8 each	
(i)	Rest of the Hindus	(7 each)*	
(j)	Labour		
(k)	Landholders		
(l)	Liberals		
(m)	Parsees		
(n)	Radical Democrats		
(o)	Scheduled Castes		
(p)	Sikhs		
TOTAL			384 (336)*

12. **Alternative IIB.**—This would be exactly the same as the preceding alternative with the exception that item II(c) would be deleted and all the figures shown in brackets in Alternative IIA would replace those without brackets. The total number of seats in the Assembly would thus be 336 as against 384 under Alternative IIA.

13. **Alternative III.**—Another suggestion on similar lines would be to have the following three Blocks :

I. MAJORITIES	Hindus	20	} 60	} 120
	Scheduled Castes	20		
	Sikhs	20		
	Muslims	60		
	(to have parity inter se among sub-divisions if any)			
II. MINORITIES	Anglo-Indians	24	} 24	} 120
	Europeans	24		
	Indian Christians	24		
	Parsees	24		
	Other Minorities	24		
	if any			
III. STATES		108 + 12 =	120	
TOTAL			360	

If the three preceding proposals seem too Utopian to be acceptable, here are a few more alternatives for consideration :

#### 14. **Alternative IV.**—

I.	COMMUNIST PARTY AND CONGRESS	60 60	} 120
II.	MUSLIM LEAGUE		
			120

## III. SOCIAL :

(a) Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Indian Christians, and Parsees	6+6+6+6	} 120
(b) Hindu Mahasabha and the rest of the Hindus	12+12	
(c) the rest of the Muslims	24	
(d) Scheduled Castes	24	
(e) Sikhs	24	} 120

IV. STATES 108+12=120

V. ECONOMIC AND/OR  
'OTHER INTERESTS' :

(a) Agriculturists (Kisans)	20	} 120
(b) Industries	20	
(c) Labour	20	
(d) Landholders	20	
(e) Liberals	20	
(f) Radical Democrats	20	

TOTAL 600

**Note :** (a) Each Block has an equal number of seats in order to eliminate the bitter question of majority and minority, so that there would be no question or fear of one dominating the other, or of any unit feeling that it had been given a lower status than others. The sub-divisions in the social and the economic Blocks also have equality of representation. So have the Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Indian Christians and Parsees *inter se*.

(b) It will be seen from the above that the Congress and the Muslim League have been treated as political parties, and society has been separately treated and represented as 'Society.' The general representation in the Assembly is therefore not confined to, or throttled by, any one point of view but is widely distributed to cover all opinions and schools of thought embracing the manifold fields of human activity.

(c) It is presumed that the Congress will be only too glad

to share Block I equally with the Communist Party as shown above.

**15. Alternative VA.**—If it is desired to widen the field of representation still further, the Central Legislature may consist of nine equal Blocks instead of five :

I. COMMUNIST PARTY	76
II. CONGRESS	76
III. (a) HINDU MAHASABHA	38
(b) REST OF THE HINDUS	38
IV. MUSLIM LEAGUE	76
V. REST OF THE MUSLIM	76
VI. 38 BIG STATES	76
VII. 76 SMALL STATES	76

## VIII. SOCIAL :

(a) Anglo-Indians	6	} 24	} 76
Europeans	6		
Indian Christians	6		
Parsees	6		
(b) Scheduled Castes	26	} 26	
(c) Sikhs	26		

IX. ECONOMIC AND/OR  
'OTHER INTERESTS' :

(a) Agriculturists	} 76
(b) Industries	
(c) Labour	
(d) Landholders	
(e) Liberals	
(f) Radical Democrats	

$$4 \times 13 = 52$$

$$2 \times 12 = 24$$

TOTAL 684

**Note :** Although it would seem that the basic figure taken in this Alternative VA is 76, it is really 114—the total of Blocks VI and VII. But the figure 76 could be reduced to 60 if the total representation of States were increased by only six to make 120 and were then equally divided between both Blocks, giving 60-60. The total number of seats of the nine Blocks would then be reduced by as many as 134, bringing the total down to 540 from 684, as shown in Alternative VB. This would greatly simplify the distribution of seats and

15. Parsees
16. Radical Democrats
17. Scheduled Castes
18. Sikhs
19. States

It is hoped that the above list is inclusive of almost all the principal elements—Social, Political and Economic. These groups must necessarily have individual representation in the common Assembly of the Federation of India, or whatever it may be called. Any other elements which may have been omitted unwittingly and are considered worthy of representation should also find a place in the Assembly.

10. **Alternative I.**—It would, of course, be ideal if there could be general agreement that each of the nineteen national elements of the country should be equally represented in the Assembly. But because India is now endeavouring to step out of the confines of ingrained distrust and disunity into the boundless spaces of harmony and goodwill, it would be too much to expect such concord in the initial stage of political advancement towards the goal of ultimate desire. This suggestion is therefore ruled out for practical reasons.

11. **Alternative IIA.**—A slightly less Utopian idea would be to have the following three Blocks of equal sizes :

I.	(a) MUSLIM LEAGUE	64 (56)*	} 128 (112)*
	(b) REST OF THE MUSLIMS (which would have parity <i>inter se</i> )	64 (56)*	
II. STATES :			
	(a) Original Members of the Chamber of Princes	108 (108)*	} 128 (112)*
	(b) Representative Members as they are at present	10 (4)*	
	(c) 2 extra seats each for Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Mysore	10 (Nil)*	

III. THE REST :			
(a)	Agriculturists (Kisans)		} 128 (112)*
(b)	Anglo-Indians		
(c)	Europeans.		
(d)	Indian Christians		
(e)	Communist Party		
(f)	Congress		
(g)	Industries		
(h)	Hindu Mahasabha	8 each	
(i)	Rest of the Hindus	(7 each)*	
(j)	Labour		
(k)	Landholders		}
(l)	Liberals		
(m)	Parsees		
(n)	Radical Democrats		
(o)	Scheduled Castes		
(p)	Sikhs		
TOTAL			384 (336)*

12. **Alternative IIB.**—This would be exactly the same as the preceding alternative with the exception that item II(c) would be deleted and all the figures shown in brackets in Alternative IIA would replace those without brackets. The total number of seats in the Assembly would thus be 336 as against 384 under Alternative IIA.

13. **Alternative III.**—Another suggestion on similar lines would be to have the following three Blocks :

I. MAJORITIES	Hindus	20	} 60	} 120
	Scheduled Castes	20		
	Sikhs	20		
	Muslims (to have parity inter se among sub-divisions if any)	60		
II. MINORITIES	Anglo-Indians	24	} 24	} 120
	Europeans	24		
	Indian Christians	24		
	Parsees	24		
	Other Minorities if any	24		
III. STATES		108 + 12 =	120	
TOTAL			360	

If the three preceding proposals seem too Utopian to be acceptable, here are a few more alternatives for consideration :

#### 14. **Alternative IV.**—

I. COMMUNIST PARTY AND CONGRESS	60	120
II. MUSLIM LEAGUE	60	120

## III. SOCIAL :

(a) Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Indian Christians, and Parsees	6 + 6 + 6 + 6	} 120
(b) Hindu Mahasabha and the rest of the Hindus	12 + 12	
(c) the rest of the Muslims	24	
(d) Scheduled Castes	24	
(e) Sikhs	24	

## IV. STATES

108 + 12 = 120

V. ECONOMIC AND/OR  
'OTHER INTERESTS' :

(a) Agriculturists (Kisans)	20	} 120
(b) Industries	20	
(c) Labour	20	
(d) Landholders	20	
(e) Liberals	20	
(f) Radical Democrats	20	

TOTAL 600

**Note :** (a) Each Block has an equal number of seats in order to eliminate the bitter question of majority and minority, so that there would be no question or fear of one dominating the other, or of any unit feeling that it had been given a lower status than others. The sub-divisions in the social and the economic Blocks also have equality of representation. So have the Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Indian Christians and Parsees *inter se*.

(b) It will be seen from the above that the Congress and the Muslim League have been treated as political parties, and society has been separately treated and represented as 'Society.' The general representation in the Assembly is therefore not confined to, or throttled by, any one point of view but is widely distributed to cover all opinions and schools of thought embracing the manifold fields of human activity.

(c) It is presumed that the Congress will be only too glad

to share Block I equally with the Communist Party as shown above.

15. **Alternative VA.**—If it is desired to widen the field of representation still further, the Central Legislature may consist of nine equal Blocks instead of five :

I. COMMUNIST PARTY	76
II. CONGRESS	76
III. (a) HINDU MAHASABHA	38 +
(b) REST OF THE HINDUS	38 + 76
IV. MUSLIM LEAGUE	76
V. REST OF THE MUSLIM	76
VI. 38 BIG STATES	76
VII. 76 SMALL STATES	76

## VIII. SOCIAL :

(a) Anglo-Indians	6	} 24	} 76	
Europeans	6			
Indian Christians	6			
Parsees	6			
(b) Scheduled Castes	26	} 26		
(c) Sikhs	26			

IX. ECONOMIC AND/OR  
'OTHER INTERESTS' :

(a) Agriculturists	} 76
(b) Industries	
(c) Labour	
(d) Landholders	
(e) Liberals	
(f) Radical Democrats	

TOTAL 684

**Note :** Although it would seem that the basic figure taken in this Alternative VA is 76, it is really 114—the total of Blocks VI and VII. But the figure 76 could be reduced to 60 if the total representation of States were increased by only six to make 120 and were then equally divided between both Blocks, giving 60-60. The total number of seats of the nine Blocks would then be reduced by as many as 134, bringing the total down to 540 from 684, as shown in Alternative VB. This would greatly simplify the distribution of seats and



completely rectify the slight disparity between the integral Blocks (b) and (c) vis-a-vis (a) of Block VIII and the integral Blocks of Block IX. In any case, a large figure for the Assembly should not be grudged or regarded as an obstacle if it will help to solve the country's difficulties.

#### 16. Alternative VB.—

I. COMMUNIST PARTY	60
II. CONGRESS	60
III. (a) HINDU MAHASABHA	30
(b) REST OF THE HINDUS	30
IV. MUSLIM LEAGUE	60
V. REST OF THE MUSLIMS	60
VI. 60 BIG STATES	60
VII. 60 SMALL STATES	60
VIII. SOCIAL :	
(a) Anglo-Indians	5
Europeans	5
Indian Christians	5
Parsees	5
(b) Scheduled Castes	20
(c) Sikhs	20
IX. ECONOMIC AND/OR 'OTHER INTERESTS' :	
(a) Agriculturists	
(b) Industries	
(c) Labour	
(d) Landholders	10 each
(e) Liberals	
(f) Radical Democrats	
TOTAL	540

17. **Alternative VI.**—Yet another alternative would be to have all the Provincial Legislatures based on the principle of parity and to include four Blocks :—(a) the Congress and (b) the Muslim League as purely Political Parties as in Alternative IV ; (c) Block III to represent Social Interests ; and (d) Block IV constituting 'Other Interests.' Then each Provincial Legislature, should return three Members preferably elected by the whole House, from each Block to the Central Legislature so as to give the figure 132 for the total representation of British India (i.e.  $3 \times 4 \times 11$ ). The

States' Block, on the basis of the figure 145, could also be represented by 132 Members if 13 seats were equally shared by 26 States. The All India Assembly would then consist of only two Blocks with a total of 264 seats, a figure not much larger than that suggested in the Government of India Act, 1935.

18. **Alternative VII.**—The strength of the Assembly as shown in the preceding Alternative could be further reduced to the total of 226 in accordance with the index figure of 113. The method of representation of British India would then be as under :—

Two representatives from each of the four Blocks of the 11 Provincial Legislatures (i.e. $2 \times 4 \times 11$ )	88
Two representatives to be elected by all the four Blocks of each Provin- cial Legislature	22
TOTAL	110
To be elected by the 110 Members	3
TOTAL	113
Representatives of States	113
GRAND TOTAL	226
(or 250 as mentioned below).	

But in order to produce a round figure of 250 which would be equivalent to the size of the Assembly contemplated under the Government of India Act, 1935, it would be easy to increase the total number of seats by raising the figure of 3 to 15 in the case of British India, and by giving 2 extra seats to Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore and another State in the case of Indian India.

**Note:** The figure 226 could be still further reduced to the very small total of 88, which would give 44 representatives to British India (i.e. one from each Block

of the 11 Provincial Legislatures), and 44 to Indian India. But this representation would be too insignificant and the arrangement unsuitable from several points of view. It is therefore not recommended. One from each Block of the Provincial Legislatures would not meet even emergencies due to such mundane happenings as unexpected indispositions and unforeseen family or business requirements. The States' representation of only 44 may also create such difficulties as may cause endless delay. This is not the time to permit undue delay, for there now prevails an all-round happy atmosphere of rapprochement—an atmosphere which should not be missed and neither be marred by direct or indirect inducement, compulsion, coercion, surreptitious steps or action unbecoming to this twentieth century of freedom, willing co-operation and self-determination.

#### 19. Alternative VIII.—

I. BRITISH INDIA BLOCK	132	(in accordance with the procedure suggested for Alternative VI).
II. INDIAN INDIA BLOCK	132	(in accordance with the procedure suggested for Alternative VI).
III. COMBINED BLOCK	132	(to be collectively elected by Blocks I and II).
TOTAL	396	

20. **Alternative IX.**—The figure 396 in Alternative VIII could be reduced to 339 if the index figure of 113 is taken as shown in Alternative VII.

21. **Alternative X.**—If no common agreement is reached on any of the preceding proposals, the following Alternative is suggested for consideration :

I.	BRITISH INDIA			
(a)	i. CONGRESS	13	} 39	} 117
	ii. HINDU MAHASABHA.	13		
	iii. REST OF THE HINDUS	13		
(b)	i. MUSLIM LEAGUE	20	} 39	
	ii. REST OF THE MUSLIMS	19		
(c)	THE REST	3 each = 39		
II.	INDIAN INDIA	108	9 =	117
	TOTAL			234

**Note :** Please also refer to page for Alternative XI.

22. **The Executive.**—It would be ideal if the Executive could comprise each element represented in the Assembly. But this would again be somewhat Utopian, and hence unacceptable. Provided, therefore, that either of the following alternatives is not more desirable, it is proposed that the election of Ministers on the Block System should be left to the whole Assembly so that all nationals would feel that they have a due share in their selection :—

- (i) that the Prime Minister, elected by the majority in the Assembly, should form his own Cabinet on the basis of the Block System ; or
- (ii) that the Prime Minister so elected should form a Cabinet of his own choice irrespective of the Block System, it being understood that the Prime Ministership would be by judicious rotation.

**Note :** It may be political aestheticism to bestow the fullest confidence upon the Prime Minister, particularly if he happens to be unanimously elected by the whole House, which would be a clear indication of the overwhelming trust the representatives of the nation would repose in him.

23. **Services.**—Recruitment to all services, including the armed forces, would be governed by the principles attaching to the Block System. (Public Service Commissions may be established for the above purpose).

24. **Head of the State.**—India should wisely gauge the pace of its ambitions. It may be imprudent for India to pitch them too high until it has faith in its tried unity and in its defences by land, sea and air, so that it may confidently retain what it has been able to consolidate and have no fear of prematurely losing what it has attained. It is, therefore, too early to discuss this item at this stage and to say whether the Head of the State, for the smooth conduct of the constitution, should be chosen by rotation and from a Block other than that selecting the Prime Minister, whether he should be a person of the Prime Minister's choice or *vice versa*, or whether he should be elected by the whole House or by the Cabinet Ministers either from within the House or without, etcetera.

**Note:** Public opinion may favour the election of the Head of the State as the first step and then leave the choice of the Prime Minister to him.

25. **A Brief Analysis of all the Alternatives.**—(a) Alternative I is ruled out; but IIA, IIB and III, are worth considering. Alternative IV, though more elaborate, would appear to be more satisfactory. Alternative V would seem to be still more welcome because it embraces the widest field of representation. The big figures may make one hesitate momentarily. But whatever the numbers, they cannot be considered too big for a country of the size of India. The figure 140, the strength of the present Assembly, (which includes only 100 elected Members),

is far too meagre when one considers that a country as small as the United Kingdom has a House of 640. Even the figure 250 contemplated in the Government of India Act, 1935, may not be considered satisfactory. India's desire has long been for a much larger Assembly. However that may be, let not India permit paltry considerations of the money that may be required to provide a new edifice for the Central Assembly to thwart the birth and inception of a new Constitution. *No House could be said to be too large if it will supply the solution of India's political perplexities and help its inhabitants to combine into a single nation.*

The next three Alternatives VI, VII and VIII, do away with direct elections to the Centre. This may sound attractive; but in accordance with the precept that neutrality is the essence of justice, it would perhaps be advisable to have a neutral body as an overriding institution at the Centre.

(b) A word here about the concept of Pakistan may not be out of place. It is well known that the idea of Pakistan was born of the fear of Hindu domination. Any of the Alternatives mentioned in this pamphlet may help to dispel such fear to an appreciable extent. But if the issue of separation cannot be avoided, it is earnestly beseeched that it should come as a last resort, when Alternative XI has been given a trial, so that Pakistan may still function on a basis of internal autonomy under India as a whole until practical experience may indicate an arrangement to the contrary:

#### Alternative XI.—

	(a) CONGRESS	20	}	40	}	120		
	(b) COMMUNIST PARTY	20						
I. HINDUSTAN	(c) SOCIAL		}	40				
	(d) ECONOMIC AND/OR 'OTHER INTERESTS' :	40						

II. PAKISTAN	(a) MUSLIM LEAGUE	60	} 120
	(b) REST OF THE MUSLIMS	60	
III. RAJASTAN		108 + 12 =	120
	TOTAL		360

26. **Resume.**—It will be noted from all that has gone before that :—

- (a) Only a unicameral legislature is herein visualised. But if a bicameral legislature is desired, it is proposed that all the Blocks in the Central Legislature should collectively function as an electoral college for the Upper House.
- (b) Representation has been provided for 'Rest of the Hindus' and 'Rest of the Muslims' separately from the Congress and the Muslim League in some alternatives. The purpose here is to surmount the frequent criticism that the Congress and the League do not fully represent all the Hindus or all the Muslims.
- (c) The scheme has not touched the Provinces at all. They should continue to have their fullest internal autonomy. But it may be hoped that the main principles at the Centre will permeate into the Provinces so that their respective peoples and populations may be assisted towards harmony.
- (d) A word about the women of India, who have not so far been mentioned, is necessary. As they can easily become members of the Central Assembly through the various

constituencies, they have not been specifically included in any of the Blocks in order to prevent unnecessary congestion. If, however, the Block of 'Other Interests' in any of the alternatives attracts them, there should be no objection to their finding a place in it. For the same reason, no mention has been made of the Universities.

- (e) The Assembly should seek the co-operation of diplomatic representatives of foreign powers. This is a novel proposal ; and, if it is accepted, it would furnish the House with valuable information about foreign affairs and help to lay the foundations of international brotherhood.
- (f) If, for any reason, the consensus of opinion does not favour the inclusion of the Liberals and/or the Radical Democrats as separate units in the Assembly, it would be worthy of consideration whether the Municipalities of all Provincial capitals may not be substituted in their place.
- (g) It would be advisable to have a rule that the Assembly should have the option of electing a Member of the Cabinet not only from within the House but also from without. It may so happen that a person may not choose to contest election to the Assembly but would still be prepared to accept Ministerial Office if he were invited to do so by the House.

- (h) Through the whole scheme the equilibrium of equality is maintained *vis-a-vis* all the principal Blocks as well as their component units. This should minimise all chances of undue jealousy and party bitterness, and should be of the highest value in the achievement of unity. There would be no particular party in power : no Opposition. The whole nation would be in power all the time, and every question would be discussed and considered on its own merits as is the practice in the legislatures of the United States of America.
- (i) The systems of constitution enunciated in this essay, besides giving as much equality of representation as would be practically possible for the achievement of solidarity and concord, aims at preserving for each interest, element and unit, big or small, its own culture, traditions and heritage.
- (j) The Sikhs and Scheduled Castes have been included in the Social Block in almost all the alternatives as it was felt that their constitutional position and claims are similar to those of other groups included in that Block. If, however, the other groups included in the Social Block have any objection, then the Sikhs and Scheduled Castes could be invited to share their representation with the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rest of the Hindus on the basis of parity *inter se*.
- (k) The different figures for the total strength of the Assembly in the various alternatives (see Appendix A), are exclusive of Officials or Ministers. It is presumed that the vacancies caused by their appointment would be filled up in the normal course. It is, however, to be considered whether it would be profitable to stipulate that officials may abstain from voting in order to preserve the numerical balance. This would be a novel departure, but it perhaps ought not to be ruled out without careful thought.
- (l) If India adopts a constitution on the lines suggested here it seems obvious that the present electoral system will have to be overhauled to make way perhaps for a system of electoral colleges, which could be worked out by technicians without much difficulty. Less important, however, than the manner by which representatives are sent to the Central Assembly is that India, if it adopts this kind of constitution, will find itself for the first time in history in possession of a central legislative body comprising all elements in British India and Indian India and constructed in accordance with a pattern that is not shaped by outworn or unsuitable political conceptions. But once India achieves the unity that is reflected in

a genuinely representative administration for the whole sub-continent, the battle will be won.

27. **Essence.**—(a) Absence of internal unity has been India's woeful bane. But here is an opportunity for it to unite. There would have to be 'give and take'. It should be borne in mind, however, that only the big can give. The very word 'big' signifies a capacity to give. What can the small give? '*The Greatness of the Great lies in giving and not in taking.*' There should be a uniform policy of 'live and let live,' for, what does true democracy mean if not "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Although social, political and economic cannibalism in one form or another is not likely to be eradicated so long as the earth is inhabited by man, the time has come when it must be combated to an extent which would, in practice, make it impossible for this law of nature to trespass into the domain of 'pleasure' from that of 'necessity,' and not be conveniently used as a cloak for various sweet-worded thoughts ostensibly aimed at the social, political or economic uplift of humanity.

(b) The inclusion of the States in a constitution of India should help to provide a stabilising element. They could be relied upon to remain an unbiased block because their history and traditions predispose them to an understanding of equality. It would not be in their own interests to adopt a partial attitude; this would at once have repercussions which would tend to disorganise the brotherly feelings subsisting between the various elements of society within their own territories and give rise to conditions from which, compared with British India, they have been enviably free. But in

order to ensure that they may always remain free from partiality, it should be provided by convention that their representatives to the Centre should be nominated—possibly from panels of members elected through democratic machines which, to suit varying conditions in various parts of the country, the States should instal wherever they do not already exist.

(c) It has been incessantly reiterated that every Indian should feel that he is an Indian first and anything else afterwards. Quite right. But unless every individual instinctively feels in his own mind that he belong to a unit which is in no way less fairly represented than others on the floor of the House that guides the destiny of the country, his allegiance to India will be of the lip and not of the heart. India is perhaps the only country in the world where there seems to be no shortage of the words "Brother" and "Sister," and yet by an irony of Fate it is a country conspicuous for its lack of unity. The profusion with which such words are lavished in conversations and public speeches, has reached a stage which does not fall far short of social mockery. This does not help to create an atmosphere in which every Indian may sincerely feel that he is an Indian first and everything else afterwards. For the achievement of the object, the present political system, which has never suited the country, must be transformed.

(d) In the various alternatives outlined in this essay, a genuine attempt has been made to provide, as far as possible, the fairest treatment for all. What principle other than that of Parity or Equality could produce a better platform for the mutual understanding required to bring about the unity that India needs as a condition of further advancement? India wants

Dominion Status or Independence. To that desire unity is a prerequisite. Everybody understands this position quite clearly. Therefore, let there be no haggling or clouded arguments based upon dreamy repetitious theories, lest this give rise to the suspicions that one group or another is seeking power for its own unit rather than for the country in general. Let India turn to advantage the circumstances and material that now obtain, and utilise them without delay for the welfare of the Motherland.

28. **A Few Final Words.**—(a) An humble endeavour has been made to put some new thoughts before the peoples of India in the earnest hope that one of the alternatives may be considered acceptable as a solution of the constitutional deadlock. It is but natural that the stale repetition of political statements and speeches regarding India's awakening, advancement or aspirations no longer carry the same weight with the populace. Such statements and speeches are losing their value by their monotony. A change is essential. Criticism there may be, and should be. But it is sincerely requested that it should be constructive.

(b) Plain simple commonsense is necessary to judge what is good and what is not good for India. The general public have plenty of such commonsense. Let the man in the street be made to understand why at one time there was harmony and goodwill between all the peoples of India, and why there has been so shameful a deterioration. *Here is an opportunity to revive goodwill. Let the public grasp it and ask their leaders not to let it go, for it may be years before they get another of their own making and choice.*

(c) If India wishes her advancement not to be delayed, all mud-slinging must cease forthwith. It is undignified at all

times. If, however, the temptation cannot be resisted, let the passion for such temptation be assuaged by reflecting that there would be plenty of time to indulge in that unhygienic sport (and to mend matters if there are any to mend) after the ship of India has unfurled its sails for its voyage to the haven of political freedom.

(d) India cannot afford to go on drifting as in the past. Further drifting will tend to widen the gulf between the groups and lead eventually to the disastrous results of an unbridgeable chasm. Leaders of India must assemble to find a solution. This essay may be found to contain an alternative or two which may provide enough common ground for the various elements to work together experimentally. Subject therefore to review later, one of the alternatives should be tried for a reasonable period, of say ten to fifteen years, which cannot be considered too long in terms of a nations' history. In the meantime India will have a fair chance to build up in peace its various resources for the next and final step towards the ultimate goal. Until that has been reached, there will also no longer be any need to ask the question : 'What Next.'

29. **Conclusion.**—(a) 'Time and tide wait for no man.' India has missed many an opportunity in the past. Let it not miss another. Let India not waver any longer, but take its own decision freely in order to avoid the humiliation of third-party arbitration. India seeks equality with other great countries of the world. Let it therefore show that it has now risen to the full stature of unity by embracing the principle of equality within its own borders.

(b) Referring to the 'final and permanent solution of India's Freedom,'

the Congress President in a 1,500 word statement on the 20th August from Kashmir said :

“ The Congress is convinced that the free Indian State can only be based on the willing co-operation of its federating units and of its principle communities, and cannot be founded on compulsion. Further, the Congress has declared that the federating units should have the largest conceivable amount of freedom to function as they will, subject only to certain essential bonds for their common welfare. Even independent countries adjoining each other have to develop these common bonds and links and can no longer live in isolation. Thus, the Congress has gone to the farther limit in recognising the right of self-determination even to the extent of separation under certain circumstances and with certain safeguards for the communities affected and for the country as a whole”.

The words which stand out in this extract are, “willing co-operation of federating units and principal communities”; “freedom to function” for federating units; “bonds for common welfare”; “right of self-determination,” and “safeguards for the communities.” Nothing could surpass the principle of parity, for furnishing the bonds for common welfare, and nothing could give a stronger feeling of security than equality of representation. Only under these conditions can the maximum amount of co-operation of federating units and principal communities be expected. ‘Freedom to function’ and ‘self-deter-

mination’ are very closely allied ; and the nobility underlying the recognition of “self-determination even to the extent of separation under certain circumstances,” must be deeply appreciated by all. This declaration furthermore, has a great practical value which directly or indirectly lends support to the theme of this essay. It suggests that the country should relinquish the old political system in favour of one that advocates the division of the populace into various compartments. This in plain words means ‘separation.’ But such a suggestion as this has not been made blindly or without good purpose. There is a very great possibility that once freedom for separation is recognised, the urge for separation will go. *India may rest assured that unity developing from temporary division or separation in the first instance will eventually remove all internal barriers social, political and economic.* Past experience shows that to expect unity through other methods is to dream a pious dream. A type of democracy different from that of the West—an Oriental Democracy—seems to be the only immediate remedy and cure for the country’s prevailing difficulties and political malaise. The slogan should therefore be “Let us separate to unite”—in other words, to realise the ancient Indian Ideal of “Unity in Diversity.” It is sincerely felt that the concept underlying this slogan ought, sooner or later, to transform the thought of India psychologically, help to dispel the Dark Night of disunity and make way for the Glorious Day of its coveted aspirations.

(c) The Congress President, discussing the ‘End of War,’ at Gulmarg on the 15th August 1945, so appropriately said :—“Until the underlying causes of war, which pivot on the greed of the powerful and humiliation and exploitation of the weak and the vanquished,



are effectively removed, this victory may be no more than the false dawn of a fugitive peace." Let India take a lesson from the above and end its internecine warfare, thereby setting an example of true Democracy by showing that within its own precincts it has been able effectively to remove the greed of the powerful and the humiliation and exploitation of the weak. Backed thus by a new force, let it then proclaim that "WE ARE NOW A HOMOGENEOUS FAMILY NO LONGER TORN ASUNDER BY THE DISSENSIONS OF HETEROGENEITY .....NOW WE SHALL HAVE WHAT WE WANT."

#### Appendix.

It would be arbitrary to say offhand that the total number of seats should be this or that for the Central Assembly. The fixing of the number should have some logical basis. Such a basis is at hand in Indian India. The original membership of the Chamber of Princes was 108, plus 12 members which represented groups of smaller States distributed over five regions. But the Chamber was reorganised a few years ago, and its present strength is 140 individual members plus 10 representative members. These figures have been taken as criteria for the strength of the whole Assembly. The manner in which they may be reduced to the least is to lower the number of representative members from ten to five, and this would still

give one representative to each region. This would provide the basic figure  $140+5=145$  as the first choice, and  $108+5=113$  as the next. But wherever the total strength of the Assembly has seemed rather large in relation to the index figure of 145, the latter has been reduced in this essay to equate it as far as possible to the lower figure of 113. It will be noticed from the Chart below that except for Alternatives IIA, VI and VIII, nowhere has the index or basic figure exceeded 120. This is only 7 more than 113, which was the lowest possible figure to take. This would involve a slight modification in the Chamber of Princes, but it is presumed that this could be done if the States were requested to revert to the original Constitution of their Chamber.

Alter-natives	Number of Seats	Basic Figure
IIA	384	128
IIB	336	112
III	360	120
IV	600	120
VA	684	114*
VB	540	120*
VI	264	132
VII	226 or 250	113
VIII	396	132
IX	339	113
X	234	117
XI	360	120

\*See Note on page 75.

# ADULT EDUCATION FOR INDIA

B. CHATTERJI

Mass education is the scaffolding on which real democracy exists. India has a very low percentage of literacy in the world and yet no satisfactory attempts are being made to make her millions of adults educated. The writer, in the following article gives a comprehensive scheme of adult education to make every countryman an intelligent and independent citizen.

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Adult Education Movement in India is yet in its swaddling clothes. Even today it remains predominantly a mass literacy movement. Before the British rule, India, it is said, had a high percentage of literacy maintained by indigenous systems of educational institutions, like *Maths*, *Pathashalas*, *Madarsas*, *Makhtabs*, *Ashrams*, etc. Though the education thus imparted was not of a high standard yet it fulfilled the fundamental needs of education. It is quite possible that Adult Education was carried on through religious discourses, reading of holy scriptures and roaming ascetics who inculcated at least some type of moral education. With the advent of British rule in India, these indigenous systems died out and lost their significance and appeal due to the introduction of English education. Literacy figures have a sorry tale to tell, about the neglect of the rulers regarding general education. From the table below it will be seen that between a period of fifty years 1881 to 1931, literacy figures increased only by 4.5% and in the next ten years 1931-41, it increased by 4.1%. This phenomenal rise during the last decade can safely be attributed to the growing consciousness of Indian people in social, political, and educational fields, as also to the effects of popular (Congress) ministries in various provinces.

Year	Percentage of Literacy
1881	3.5
1891	4.6
1901	5.3
1911	5.9
1921	7.3
1931	8.0
1941	12.1

Compulsory primary education has a direct bearing on the literacy of any nation and from this point of view it is worthwhile noting that G. K. Gokhale moved a bill for compulsory primary education in the Central Assembly in 1910-11 which was unfortunately defeated. By this time people were already thinking on these lines and we find the existence of the first night school in Rajahmundry in 1907. This may be an isolated case but it is likely that many such institutions were in existence, though no records are available. The real phase of the movement started after the World War I 1914-18, when the Y.M.C.A., and Poet Tagore showed active interest. By 1921 the upsurge of national consciousness and national struggle stimulated the movement. Many students left schools and colleges due to political reasons and naturally the need for National Educational Institutions was felt and *Vidyapiths* grew up. Among the provinces, the Punjab took the lead by launching a campaign against illiteracy in 1922-23. The Servants of India Society made an isolated beginning in

1916 and took it more energetically from 1923 onwards. In 1926 the Bhagini Samaj of Bombay undertook education of adult women and the very next year they resorted to visual aid for the purpose. In 1929 and 1931 one Mr. Subba Rao started two schools for training rural workers in South India. The decade that followed is very significant from the Adult Education point of view, because the biggest jump in literacy figures took place during this period. But it is not possible to trace here the provincial achievements in this field.

Among the efforts in the direction of Adult Education on an All India scale, the first and foremost is the establishment of The Indian Adult Education Society in Delhi in 1937. At the first instance, its field of activity was only limited to Delhi, later this Society convened an All India Conference of persons interested in Adult Education in 1938. The main objects of the Society as expressed at its second conference were to spread knowledge among peoples of India on all subjects relating to their welfare and culture, to initiate adult education activities wherever necessary ; to serve as a central bureau of information and to co-operate with bodies carrying on adult education work.

Membership was classified under two heads—institutional and individual. The Committee also set up a literacy standard. As regards proper adult education it recommended some 13 types of activities. Proposals were made to set up a central bureau of research, experimentation, and information. It also proposed a separate programme for women.

Another effort on an all India basis was by the Adult Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1938. This Board was set

up under the Chairmanship of Dr. Syed Mahmud to consider the question of combating illiteracy. It made valuable recommendations on the following points :-

1. The sphere of adult education in the general field of education.
2. Adult education and other forms of continuative education (e.g. of vocational character).
3. Attendance of pupils.
4. The problem of utilizing and developing existing agencies.
5. New ways of attacking the problem.
6. Leadership training.
7. Methods and technique.
8. Library and adult education.
9. Women and adult education.
10. Taking help of voluntary agencies.
11. Organization of Adult Education Movement.
12. Establishment of Information Bureau in every Province.

On the basis of these recommendations the Sargent Report on Education was published. The sixth chapter of the Report deals with Adult Education. Though the Scheme realizes the new role of Adult Education, viz., to give reality to the ideal of democracy, yet it lays greater stress on achievement of literacy, because it argues a child must be able to walk before it can run.

The Scheme envisages compulsory primary education of all children between the ages of 6 and 14 years. But it embraces all persons between the ages of 10 and 40 years in its fold as it will be wasteful, when the whole Scheme comes into operation, to admit children. The plan hopes to make India 100% literate in 25 years out of which 5 years will be devoted to experiment, research and planning. Adult Education proper will take

its rightful place only after the seventeenth year; till that time only 10% of the finances will be utilized for this purpose. The whole Scheme will cost about 60 crores of rupees spread over a period of 25 years.

Though technically the Adult Education Movement started after the World War I, the real beginning was made only after 1938 as a corollary of political and social consciousness of the people. At this time Provincial Autonomy had come into force and in many provinces, an honest effort was made, towards Adult Education. In India, unfortunately, the real aim of Adult Education, namely, a continuous growth of the human personality leading to a better and useful life and resulting in an all round adjustment of the individual to his society and to his work, has been lost in the woods of literacy. Today the word Adult Education is synonymous with 'Adult Literacy.' The one organization which is free from this confusion is the Bombay Presidency Adult Education Association.

The Indian States, with few exceptions like Travancore, Cochin and Baroda, are very much behind, the rest of India in literacy. So it is necessary that a central organization tackling the problem throughout the country should be formed. But considering the attempts made on an all India basis we find that the Indian Adult Education Association established in 1938, has miserably failed to arouse public support and sympathy for its cause. It has also failed to cater to the needs of the adults effectively. Adult Education Movements abroad were products of the predominating social forces in the country which reflected the sentiments of the people. Thus the Russian Movement was a weapon against Tsarists; Danish folk schools were started to be spiritual fortifications against Germans;

the English movement was a defence against Social Revolution apprehended to result from the Industrial Revolution, while the American movement sprang up to give every youth opportunity to be a potential President of the United States.

No doubt, the time when the Indian Adult Education Association was formed was psychologically ripe for the Movement. It was the time when political and social consciousness was surging. But once out of the shell the Movement failed to tune its steps with the need of the time. It deliberately moved away from political associations and tried to shape it on the model of Adult Schools Union of Great Britain—a totally undesirable model; for the counter-revolutionary ideals might have succeeded in England in the initial days of the Industrial Revolution by giving spiritual dope to the people, but to expect the same to flourish in India of 1938—days of great political consciousness—is amazing!

The problem of education and literacy is intimately associated with the babel of tongues that India is. According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, there are in all 544 dialects in India, but fortunately for us, there are 15 major languages with literature and which are used as media of instruction. Therefore, the problem has to be tackled on the basis of these fifteen linguistic regions. This will conduce to cultural integration leading to social and political solidarity. Since more than one of the languages are used in more than one province or state, a central organization, independent of provincial or state jurisdiction and boundaries, must be created. The central organization will divide the country into five major zones with one or more language regions under its aegis. The division will be as follows:

- (a) North Zone : Consisting of Balochi, Pushto and Punjabi linguistic districts.
- (b) Central „ : Consisting of Hindustani and Nepali lingual districts.
- (c) East „ : Consisting of Oriya, Bengali and Assamese lingual districts.
- (d) South „ : Consisting of Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam lingual districts.
- (e) West „ : Consisting of Marathi, Gujarathi, Sindhi and Rajasthani lingual districts.

This will facilitate education of people in their own mother tongue and uniform attack on illiteracy and help research and experimentation.

These zones will then be sub-divided into suitable district zones, and here an attempt must be made to synchronize the boundary of these districts to the boundary of administrative district. These district units will be sub-divided further into various local territories which will directly execute the programme of the central organization.

#### *Functions of Various Organizations :—*

The four main tasks of planning, co-ordination, control and execution will be done by the central, zonal, district and local organizations. The main functions of the central organization will be to effectively plan Adult Education for the whole of India. It must also prepare a comprehensive plan of action laying down initial methods, techniques and programmes.

Among other important functions will be, leadership training, supervision, research and experimentation, publication of materials for adult education, carrying on propoganda and lastly maintaining an efficient information bureau, and also maintaining vital statistics to check up the progress of the movement from time to time. This body should be controlled by an executive of 15 persons who must constitute a “Brain Trust” representing various fields of arts and sciences. And there should be an Executive Director who will be responsible for the day to day administration of the organization. Under him will be departmental heads for each of the departments like, research, information, propaganda, etc.

*Zonal Organizations.*—The main function of these organizations will be to co-ordinate the various agencies available in the respective zones and harness them according to the policy laid down by the central office. They will also have almost all the functions of the central organization, only that their feild of activity will be limited to their respective zones. These will be devided into districts and local units.

The district units will exercise control over local units and be responsible to the zonal organization in executing the policy of the central organization, and the local units will be directly responsible for the execution of various schemes and programmes.

*Agencies for Adult Education.*—The agencies for the purposes of Adult Education can be divided into three major heads.

- (1) Government.
- (2) Local Self Government.
- (3) Voluntary.

*Government.*—There are so many departments in the Government that have direct contact with the people and these

contacts can be utilized for furtherance of the cause; chief among them are :

- (a) Education.
- (b) Public Health.
- (c) Department of Industries.
- (d) Co-operative Department.
- (e) Prisons.
- (f) Rural Reconstruction.
- (g) Agricultural Department.

*Local Self Government.*—Corporations, Municipalities, District Boards, Local Boards, Gram-Panchayats can also carry on the work of Adult Education through their various agencies.

*Voluntary Agencies.*—These are such agencies as are not directly concerned with Government or local bodies and among them may be included :

- (a) Universities.
- (b) Colleges.
- (c) High Schools.
- (d) Social Service Agencies.
- (e) Trusts.
- (f) Employers.
- (g) Co-operatives.
- (h) Community Centres.
- (i) Settlements.
- (j) Libraries.
- (k) Museums.
- (l) Work Camps.
- (m) Religious Institutions.
- (n) Hospitals.

*Types of Adult Education.*—As we have already seen, if adult education is to be a real programme for adult life it should cover the following types of Adult Education :

- (a) Literacy.
- (b) Post Literacy.
- (c) Education for Citizenship.
- (d) Parent Education.
- (e) Health Education.
- (f) Vocational Guidance and Adjustments.

- (g) Cultural Education.
- (h) University Extension.
- (i) Worker's Education.
- (j) Rural Education.
- (k) Women's Education.

(a) *Literacy* : Literacy is the basic content of education. But Literacy by itself can never be education. It is at best the capacity to decipher words and figures and to write them with some dexterity ; but education is the capacity to comprehend life situations, using past experience crystallized into knowledge. From this point of view the Indian villager too is educated though in his own way. The knowledge he has acquired, however, is traditional, tracing its origin to antiquity. The world has changed and is changing. It has made stupendous material progress, revolutionized the means of production and distribution of communication and contact. The question of isolation is out of the question. With the impact of this new culture and contact the village isolation is shattered, new situations, new challenges, face the masses which hitherto were unknown to them. Their traditional life fails to save them from resulting maladjustments. Thus a vicious circle around a maladjustment is spun and the backbone of the community is broken.

It is here that re-education of people is needed. Psychologists hold that man is not born human but is made so through social interaction. If a person is made he can be remade. Thorndike has also proved that adult learning is in no way inferior to child learning.

Now it must be remembered that it is difficult to reach crores of people through the word of mouth. Moreover, expression of ideas, ideals and thoughts can only be concretized through literacy which facilitates efficient dissemination of knowledge.

It is essential that literacy primers should be based on adult interest rather than on antiquated "King Lessons." Dr. Labauch's method has proved useful and till some other alterations are found suitable, it should be utilized to the full. The Bihar Mass Literacy Committees have produced material with a right outlook and are bound to prove useful for others to follow.

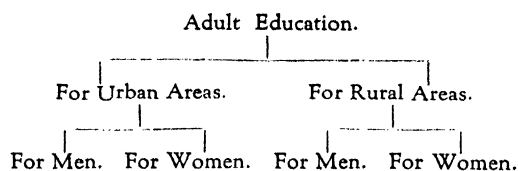
Regarding the methods of Campaign for Literacy the following points must be remembered :

A survey of illiterates and their subsequent classification, based according to sex, age, profession, residence, etc., should precede the enrolment and training of teachers and volunteers. Next will come intense propaganda, through literacy day celebrations, exhibitions, films, slides, talks, posters, etc. After enrolment of students allotment of classes to teachers should be made, and then work may begin. Wherever possible a course of study and proficiency tests should be devised, time limit fixed and "Each One, Teach One" slogan should be promoted for the purpose of intensive drive.

(b) *Post Literacy* : Creation of literacy without a follow up programme is futile. The main task at this stage is to supply, enough and more, interesting reading material to the newly made literates and thus prevent their relapse into illiteracy on the one hand and teach them something useful on the other.

An elementary education in a simple way on subjects, like arithmetics, geography, history, civics and economics, should be given. Village libraries, public libraries and reading rooms form an integral part of this stage of adult education.

And from here the whole adult education programmes can be classified into four major heads.



Each of these groups will have sociological problems of its own and no rough and ready method can either be devised or course of study laid down. Much will depend on interests, aptitude, likes and dislikes. All this is important to make any programme interesting.

(c) *Education for Citizenship* : Success of any polity, and especially of Democracy depends on the civic sense of its components. This is based on a healthy balance of rights and duties. The trouble arises when people exercise their rights without fulfilling obligations that they owe to society. Another type of crisis crops up when people are too ignorant to realize their duties and rights and vested interests exploit. Franchise is a dangerous weapon in the hands of an ignorant people who are unable to decide whether persons and policies are in their interest and welfare. Through Adult Education we have to develop a body of citizens "alert to the facts of Government, vigilant in the scrutiny of the conduct of Government, able by reason of training and knowledge to decide on persons and policies."

The modern concept of citizenship is composed of two elements—a sense of liberty and a membership in a political unit. In times of crisis conflict arises between individual liberty and loyalty. It is in this clash of the self with the group that the one allegiance that is more firmly established in emotion triumphs, and reason is thrown to the winds.

The question now is how to impart education for citizenship. It is indeed difficult to set down definite devices for

such training. In earlier times, tradition, and later, folk lores and mythology shaped the civic sense of the individual. The faithful observance of these was based on fear, force and custom. Social control in earlier simple society was easy. In our modern complex society it is difficult. The tendency today is to avoid conflict by developing unitary political loyalty through schools, the press, parties, ideologies and through crowd psychology. All this is broadly based on education. Citizenship then must begin with formal education in civics, politics, economics and local self-government. But what is needed is a conscious effort at socialization of the individual, which must be an inseparable part of adult education. Through moral education, human values and tolerance must be inculcated in the minds of the adults in order to develop a new outlook to face challenges and situations of life effectively. Once his personality is thus moulded without any specific training he will prove to be a useful member of society.

(d) *Parent Education* : Parenthood is a special responsibility of adulthood and it needs preparation which can be imparted through Adult Education alone. If properly given it can ensure properly adjusted personalities in this as well as coming generations. In this century of the child, the child must be given a healthy heredity, scientific upbringing and wholesome growth. Parent education is concerned with the development of the individual in all his family and social relations. In America the whole content of parent education has shifted from the child to the whole family since social conditions do affect the emotional needs of the child.

In America parent education is carried on through teaching parents in groups or singly ; training professional

and non-professional leaders; preparing material for parents education ; and research, etc. The subject matter varies from child care to vocational guidance. In Russia it is imparted through health centres, and nursery schools, which are also responsible for improving the home environment in every way. In Germany it is carried on through Parent Teacher Associations.

For the development of this type of education, India must have an army of psychiatric and mental hygiene workers.

(e) *Health Education* : The dictionary meaning of health is "State of being hale, sound, or whole in body, mind or soul ; specially the state of being free from physical disease or pain." This negative definition of being free from disease is insufficient. The positive aspect of health would be the promotion of superior level of living conducive to the highest ends of life. Thus it is to live most and serve best.

Health education should then first consist of knowledge of fighting sub-health, fighting of communicable and preventable diseases and other physical maladjustments. It will thus be, to a large degree, propaganda for health.

Russia has a very comprehensive plan of health education. At present it is a part of proletarian culture and is conducted under the supervision of the health education departments which work in co-operation with agencies, such as the Maternity and Infant Welfare Society, the Society for Combating Alcoholism, nursery schools, unions, clubs, mothers organizations, trade unions, etc.

(f) *Vocational Guidance and Adjustment* : Vocation is any pursuit of remunerative occupation. In the present industrial era thousands of types of vocation are possible. Efficiency can only be promoted and wastage prevented if right



persons with right aptitude are selected for the right job. If a person with higher or lower calibre than required by a particular job does it, maladjustment is bound to occur. In either case there is wastage. Vocational Guidance is therefore concerned with furnishing counsel to persons who seek to discover their occupational interests and abilities, and to learn about problems and opportunities of employment. In most countries this is done by the educational system while in England through the Ministry of Labour. In India this task will have to be started from the scratch. Though giving vocational guidance is the function of education departments, in the absence of these Adult Education will have to take up the work which will be more in the nature of vocational readjustment rather than guidance.

(g) *Cultural Education* : Culture means acquaintance with and taste for fine arts, broad knowledge of humanitarian aspects of science as distinguished from vocational, technical or professional skill or knowledge. Cultural education in the setting of Adult Education would include aesthetic education through pursuit of fine arts, like poetry, music, painting, sculpture, drama, architecture. This is necessary because Adult Education aims at life beautiful. Only those who have a sense of beauty can create beautiful things. Creative urge is present in every person, though in a varying degree, and it is active in some and dormant in others. The work of Adult Education is to cultivate this tendency. An attempt should be made to secure mass consciousness of beauty. Art gives pleasure, and perfect craftsmanship evokes satisfaction. A work of art requires a deep understanding of elements represented and an emotional urge to create. Through Adult Education we can instil a sense of appreciation of

art which, in the long run, is bound to lead to the spontaneous enjoyment of other forms of artistic expression. Thus the task of adult educators is to interest their pupils in music, drama, painting, etc., and to give them opportunities to express their emotional urge, or in the alternative, to give an understanding of noble expressions.

(h) *University Extension* : This type of Adult Education is meant for those who do not belong to the University and yet desire to have university education. In England and America, this type of educational activity grew out of extra-mural curriculum of the universities with a view to democratize higher education. In illiterate India to think of diffusing higher education amongst masses may appear comic. Moreover, the usual criticism that our university education is highly theoretical makes it difficult to spread it among the masses. But once it is planned and started it may be possible to judge of the value of such education and mass reaction may even provide a valuable lesson for the reorganization of the system. Owing to the higher cost of university education it is not possible for all to have it through the usual ways of colleges. Education must be democratized and it can be done thus alone.

To start with, such extension centres can be established only in places where there are universities or colleges. It can also be arranged in other places where the intelligentsia is willing to shoulder the responsibility of leadership and organization.

(i) *Worker's Education* : The Royal Commission on Labour opined that most of the handicaps of the working class in India are due to overwhelming illiteracy, and laid special stress on education of industrial labour. The worker's education

is fundamentally important in the schemes of Adult Education as it attempts to better a social class and not an individual. It should therefore give him a better understanding of his environments and his handicaps. It should also prepare him to provide Trade Union leadership. It must give him a basic knowledge of political science and economics, so as to equip him with an insight into the problems of his class. It must endow him with agitational leadership for awakening the masses of workers to safeguard their rights.

In earlier times, Adult Education for workers implied technical education only. Later these new items were introduced as a result of the awakening amongst the workers. Labour Colleges flourished in England but failed in America where the conflict of labour and capital was not pronounced. In India, Prof. Ranga started a Socialist School for worker's education. The courses dealt with in this School appear to be too ambitious to be intelligently followed by average workers. The curriculum of worker's education should include topics and programmes of current interest, and also cover the entire field of his normal life and activities.

Recently the Nuffield College published a pamphlet on 'Industry and Education' in which exclusively technical and mechanical education to workers is outlined without covering the human side. This is bound to fail; for, workers are human being and their interests are multifarious and interrelated. And as such no system of education which entirely excludes the human topics can succeed for long. Such mechanical education is sure to further emphasise class distinctions. It is difficult to wipe out centuries of class hatred except by arousing in the workers social consciousness and this can be done through a

comprehensive programme of workers' education.

(j) *Rural Education*: The Royal Commission on Agriculture declares that "illiteracy presents the greatest single obstacle to rural development". It is estimated that about 80% of our population resides in villages. The social and economic condition of Indian peasants has been gradually deteriorating for the past fifty years. The entire structure of rural India has to be rebuilt or else the economic back-bone of the nation will crash. A government sustained and maintained on rural economy could nowhere be so callous to rural welfare as in India.

Conditions in America afford a striking contrast. In America the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, apart from improving agronomic conditions and agricultural engineering, has also established '4H' clubs in almost every village ('4H' stands for Health, Heart, Head and Hands). These words summarise the activities of the club. The main aim of this department is to grow 'two blades of grass where one grew before'. The department utilizes all the techniques known to Adult Education for the purpose. Demonstrations have broken the scepticism of the workers and tens of thousands of young farmers have learnt scientific agriculture. Through education they have begun to think in national terms rather than local. It has stimulated their thought on many controversial issues and trained them up for leadership within a short span of time. In America education is being treated as a large co-operative and democratic undertaking.

Side by side with promoting rural literacy we must devise a type of rural education on these lines suitable to our rural life and conditions. This type of education will centre round improvement

of agriculture, cattle stock, farm engineering, soil erosion, irrigation, etc., dairy farming and poultry farming, domestic economy, family, nutrition, child care, clothing, housing, home health and sanitation; parent education, study groups on general affairs, recreational clubs and leadership training.

(k) *Women's Education* : Women have a unique place in society as guardians of children and as home-makers. Hence, if women are educated the task of general enlightenment becomes easy. According to the census of 1941, only 4% of India's womanhood is literate. "The value to the community of its women's education lies particularly in its effect upon the lasting literacy amongst the young", says the Royal Commission on Agriculture. The Manshardt Committee on Adult Education appointed by the Government of Bombay says, "The committee regards the education of adult women as of more than ordinary importance, for there is little hope of attaining literacy on a wide scale without the co-operation of mothers".

Indian women by sheer force of tradition feel that education is not a part of their job and as such they are indifferent, if not actually antagonistic, towards it. This resistance must be broken through regular propaganda in women's clubs especially organized for general recreational purposes and which can be later converted for educational purposes. Classes in these clubs may begin by teaching handicrafts, knitting, cottage industries, etc., and gradually the interests of the club members should be stimulated. Literacy programmes should follow these activities and then adult education should be imparted on such subjects like—health, cleanliness, general sanitation, child welfare, nutrition common diseases and their infection, their prevention, civic responsi-

bilities, laws of inheritance, social evils like child marriage, polygamy, and *pardha* should be discussed. A working knowledge of post offices, railways, tram services, road rules should also be given. Later on with the co-operation of women's organization and other social service agencies the programme may embrace such fundamental subjects as domestic science, child psychology, mental hygiene, sex education, etc.

*Methods of Adult Education.*—Let us now examine all the possible types of methods that can fruitfully be employed for the purposes of Adult Education. The methods can be classified into the following main heads :—

#### 1. Written Words :

- (a) Books.
- (b) Magazines.
- (c) Pamphlets.
- (d) Newspapers.
- (e) Correspondence Courses.
- (f) Libraries and Reading Rooms.
- (g) Wall Newspapers.

#### 2. Spoken Words :

- (a) Class Rooms.
- (b) Forums.
- (c) Lectures.
- (d) Councils.
- (e) Panel Discussions.
- (f) Study Circles.
- (g) Debates.
- (h) Visiting Teachers.

#### 3. Visual Education :

- (a) Cinema.
- (b) Exhibition.
- (c) Museums.
- (d) Demonstrations.
- (e) Magic Lantern.
- (f) Pictorial Education.

## 4. Cultural Activities:

- (a) Music.
- (b) Folk Songs.
- (c) Drama.
- (d) Fine Arts.

## 5. Radio.

*Written Words.*—Printing has revolutionized the communication of knowledge and learning. In pre-printing days learning passed from generation to generation through the word of mouth. Permanency under such conditions was limited. Wisdom could not be concretised for the use of posterity. To-day through the printed word we can reach millions of people with ease. Again continuity of knowledge can be maintained through the printed method. Every year thousands of books are published and if by means of control, these books could be produced for the explicit purpose of Adult Education, then half the worry of the adult educator will be over. It is worth while to know what a readable book should be according to modern conceptions. Mr. Percy W. Bidwell in his article : "How to write a readable book", gives the following prescription :

- " 1. Study your reader.
- 2. Select a topic that will interest him.
- 3. Catch a first class author.
- 4. Join to him a capable editor.
- 5. Simplify your material, but—
- 6. Don't forget your flavouring.
- 7. Sprinkle liberally with illustrations.
- 8. Make your prose march".

Though common place, this advice is bound to prove very useful in the publication of any Adult Education material.

*Newspapers* are a very important source of forming public opinion. Civic education and education on current affairs

can be imparted very usefully through them. It is worth while considering the proposition that large newspapers and publishing concerns should finance liberally the literacy campaigns as it will ultimately increase their clientele by thousands and will be a good investment from their point of view.

The *Correspondence Course* has now earned a place in the educational movement. As a part of Adult Education it aims at providing formal or even technical education for the adult in this home, at his leisure and under the best teachers of the country. It has no longer remained a merely commercial proposition. The universities in the West have taken to it as a powerful method of diffusing knowledge. The University of Chicago offers no less than 450 different subjects for correspondence courses. In our own country where educational facilities are so scanty the possibilities of the correspondence course should be explored.

The *Library* is not merely a collection of books, but it is one of the most potent weapons of Adult Education. Libraries have come to be a living organism constantly growing with the new knowledge and culture. As a part of Adult Education the libraries in America undertake larger types of activities like home-crafts, parent education, by means of mailing a bibliography of books or even books at times, to the newly married persons or to parents of the newly born children.

Our first need will no doubt be to plan for village libraries and not large public libraries. The Bihar Mass Literacy Committee was recently maintaining about 4,000 libraries at a cost of Rs. 6,973-2-0 only and about 5 lacs of books were issued. This is evidence of the good work which well organised libraries can do in our rural communities.

*Reading Rooms* are usually an appendage to the libraries. The maintenance of such reading rooms is very cheap and all the same very useful as all people are eager to read current affairs.

*Wall Newspapers* are used in Russia to teach the people to give expression to their ideas. Every factory, and village should have its own wall newspaper. Thus the people get accustomed to make public their feelings which can always improve understanding and power of one's own expression. This idea must be taken up by us as a part of our Adult Education programme.

*Spoken Words.*—Spoken word may not be very useful from the point of view of permanence but certainly when it comes to imparting knowledge to contemporaries this method is very impressive as the living word has a different appeal to the mind than the printed word. Assimilation of ideas is much easier and simpler through the spoken word. There are many techniques in which the spoken word is used.

*Class rooms* form one of the ancient methods of imparting learning and instruction. Here pupils of the same mental calibre and attainments are put together in a room where a teacher teaches through lectures and lessons. This method is essentially associated with the rigid discipline, authority, etc., of the class room; hence, this method may not prove very useful. But so far as literacy is concerned this is the only method that can be used with efficiency, only the teacher should keep in his mind the fact that he is teaching ADULTS. If he does this he is bound to adapt his teaching to the needs of his adult pupils and thus make his class interested in what he has to say.

*Forums* are open places where Greeks and Romans used to transact business. Later, it was adopted for the education of the adults or rather for academic discussions. In forums the members of the group contribute their several experiences towards the expression of a common will or end. Any group discussion can be called a forum and through these the thoughts of the members can be stimulated for mutual enlightenment.

*Panel Discussions* are, comparatively speaking, a new method of adult education. In this form of discussion there are about six leaders and a chairman. They sit round a table facing the audience. The discussion is usually on a topical or controversial subject. The chairman presents the subject in brief and each speaker discusses it extempore from the various points of view. Then the general public discusses it in the light of questions developed by the leaders of the panel and announced by the chairman. These discussions have an advantage over the debates where, due to natural timidity, only a few persons participate.

*Study circles* are meant rather for the learned types of students who wish to pursue knowledge jointly. One member of the group undertakes the study of a particular subject and reads an informative paper on it and after this a discussion follows. Another member reads a paper on some other subject and thus co-operative learning flourishes!

*Debates* are wordy battles, where two sides contest a political, social or some other controversial subject. Such a method throws a flood of light on the pros and cons of an issue and presents both sides of the questions before arriving at a decision. It also develops understanding and gives excellent training in

public speaking which is so essential in a democratic age.

*Councils* which are of recent origin are not without historical background. Since the dawn of civilization men interested in the same cause have formed into councils. Their Indian replica, is the village or the community council popularly known as *panchayats*. Through these the members of a particular community strive to solve the common problems that face them, and share mutual burdens and responsibilities.

*Visiting teachers* should be widely used in India for educating the adults. At present we cannot afford to have teachers with specialized knowledge in many subjects in large numbers. Even to start with, many practical subjects like parent education and vocational psychology are comparatively less known in our country. In order to disseminate knowledge on such topics the few teachers that we have will have to undertake visiting teachers' work. This is only a tentative arrangement to last till we have a large supply of teachers in every branch of knowledge.

*Visual Methods.*—It is common experience that the impressions we have of things *seen* are more lasting than of things *heard* or *read*. The failure of the spoken and the written word to compete with the visual form of expression in conveying an experience or an impression lies in the difficulty of finding vivid expression of many complex situations through the former methods. "Visual impressions play a more important part than sensations of any other mode in guiding the interpretation of the external world and our orientation therein". Thus a pictorial exhibition on the evolution of machinery, for example, will be better appreciated than a learned lecture on the same subject.

Of the various techniques in this method the following have a place :

*Motion pictures.* Today millions of people throughout the country visit motion picture houses more for recreation than for education. Motion pictures have become a commercial proposition and producers refuse to include anything which they feel will not be popular or paying. They resist any encroachment on their freedom of business and put forth cheap and sensational films without educative value. Learning is a matter of organization of various sense impressions into a logical sequence ; and enjoyment of visual phantasies far removed from realities may create sense impressions which may disorganise volitional faculties. Therefore, educational control of films is a matter of great social importance. Creative direction of visual education should counteract the negative values and stimulate positive ones.

Educational films, specially designed to illustrate selected topics in formal education, are now being used by many schools. But this is not enough. Three principles of control of motion pictures should be attended to :

1. A committee of expert educationists and scientists should plan and supervise each film.
2. Films should be planned so as to fulfil the purposes of Adult Education.
3. True representatives of the people should exercise control.

Adult Education is, in a sense, self education where an individual is helped to seek facts and draw conclusions for himself. This can be done by documentary, historical, biographical, and informational films. Thus the film can serve the purpose of a newspaper, a library,

museum and exhibition all at the same time.

*Exhibitions* used to be merely commercial propositions some years ago but today their educational value has been recognized. The beginning was probably made by health exhibitions consisting of posters, charts, etc. Today every type of education can be imparted through exhibitions, in which people really take a lively interest as they powerfully appeal to them.

*Museums* too are very important in Adult Education.

*Demonstrations* have a peculiar advantage over other visual methods. Here people have an opportunity of seeing how a particular method or a thing works and hence a demonstration carries conviction with it. Lectures, books, cinemas, magic lanterns, may fail to convince a peasant of the value of scientific farming, but if by actual demonstration its utility is shown to him he is sure to accept the conclusions.

Similarly, among the other useful techniques magic lantern and pictorial education may be included. The point is that though all the visual methods are more or less equally useful the suitability of each will depend on the theme to be illustrated and the locality in which it is to be used. So the adult educator must be able to discriminate between methods before finally selecting them for his use.

*Cultural Activities.*—Though the word culture has a wider significance in relation to Adult Education, we shall take it to denote aesthetics or fine arts like, drama, music, painting, folk lore, etc.

All these fields have a great appeal to the human mind as they are vitally related to the emotions. In ancient India

moral education was effectively imparted through melodious *Bhajans*, *Kirtans*, etc. If properly marshalled, these activities can be channelled for educational purposes with great advantage. Drama presents many life situations on the stage, skilfully knit into a story ; it is, therefore, not only interesting but of great educational value. Painting, like music, satisfies the creative urge in man, and gives tone to his thoughts and ideas. This helps in the healthy growth of personality. Folk songs are often treasures of ancient cultures, and their revival is full of educational possibilities. These various activities should be designed to foster in the adults a sense of beauty and taste, leading to their refinement and culture.

*Radio.*—This method of education is one that overlaps with all the preceding ones with the exception of visual method. But that too will be covered by Television when it comes to be widely used for educational purposes. Radio is the cheapest and speediest means of communication with the masses over a wide area, but it has not yet reached that stage in India. Educational broadcasts are also still in their infancy. It is used at present only as an instrument for propaganda and recreation. The present writer had an opportunity of interviewing a number of radio listeners last year and he found that people studiously avoided listening to educational talks. It is the duty of the broadcasting authorities not only to make educational talks more interesting but also stimulate a taste for them in their listeners. A great deal of experiment and research is needed in this direction.

*Financial Aspect.*—In any enterprise, finances are the most important factor. The question becomes still more difficult when it is a matter of dealing with millions

of people. It is difficult to give a correct estimate of the sums of money needed for the organization of Adult Education ; but a fairly approximate estimate is here attempted.

During the year 1941-42 the whole of British India spent Rs. 30,85,79,543 on education of which Rs. 18,04,512 were from public contributions. The percentage of contributions from various sources worked out as follows :—

Government	...	43·8%
Municipal and District Boards	...	14·7%
Fees	...	27·7%
Endowments	...	13·8%

Thus Government bears less than half of the total expenses. All told we are spending annually about a rupee *per capita* and of this only seven annas represent government contribution. Provincial expenditure *per capita* are as follows :—

#### 1944-45 Budget.

Assam	...	Rs. 0	6	3	<i>per capita</i>
Bengal	...	"	0	5	" "
Bombay	...	"	1	1	6 " "
C.F. and Berar.	...	"	0	5	0 " "
Madras	...	"	0	11	4 " "
The Punjab	...	"	0	11	4 " "
U.P.	...	"	0	6	5 " "

Contrast with this, Great Britains' expenditure of Rs. 33/2 *per capita* during the prewar period. Figures of the American and Russian Governments are not available or we would have shown how miserable our Governments' contribution to general education is ! And as far as Adult Education is concerned, it is doubtful if a pie *per capita* is spent !

Mr. John Sargent, who proposes to cover 9 crores of adults in his Scheme

to be spread over a period of 25 years, estimates an expenditure of 3 crores per year for twenty years. The total amount to be spent is Rs. 60 crores spread over twenty years. This works out at Rs. 1/8 *per capita* spread over a period of 20 years i.e. about one anna *per capita* per year !

If a very elaborate machinery for adult education is to be set up, at least one rupee *per capita* per year should be set aside by the Government and another eight annas *per capita* raised by tax, donation or loan, etc., from the public. Thus, sixty crores of rupees will be needed for the entire country to organize a plan of real adult education. This may appear to be fantastic but considering Rs. 33/- and odd *per capita* of Great Britain our estimate is modest. The central committee should receive this sum from various provinces and States and then re-distribute the amount after deducting annas 2 *per capita* for its maintenance. Similarly, the zonal committees will keep 4 annas *per capita* for their organization and annas 2 *per capita* will be kept by the District Committees for their upkeep and the balance of Re. 1/- *per capita* should be spent on Adult Education. No claim of scientific accuracy is made for this estimate ; it is given merely to stimulate thought on the financial aspect of the problem.

Whatever the financial costs, we should not be deterred from forging ahead with the plan of educating all our adults. Adult Education is a bulwark of democracy. It will convert a mob into a nation, will give creative leadership and intelligent following. It will preserve culture and lead to uniform progress in the body politic, making its members not only good citizens, good men and good friends but also good fathers and good mothers.



# THE WAY TO WORLD SECURITY

J. C. KUMARAPPA

The war-weary world is vainly attempting to secure lasting peace. Its plans are foredoomed to failure because they ignore the basic socio-psychic elements governing human relations and are based on violence, hatred and fear. In the following analysis of the world situation Sjt. Kumarappa holds that representatives of more primitive types of civilization persist in our midst and disturb peace. Hence, he suggests that talents of men and women must be properly canalized and a system of education "should discover fairly early in the life of a child its natural aptitude and place it in society in a niche where by reason of its natural ability it will render the greatest service to mankind."

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At the end of June, the San Francisco Conference evolved a plan for World Security. The preamble to this document, styled a 'Charter,' is interesting. It states :—

"We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm our faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations, large and small : and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for obligations arising from treaties and other sources of International law can be maintained : and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours : and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security and by accepting the principles and institution of methods to ensure that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest and by the employment of international machinery for the promotion of economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

This clear statement of aims is grand and laudable. Whether we can achieve the objective or not will depend mostly on the means adopted. The remedy itself

will be indicated by a careful analysis of the causes that precipitate these periodical upheavals. Having isolated the disturbing factors if we bypass them because of being preoccupied with our own selfish interests, we can accomplish nothing worthwhile. We have before us the colossal failure of the old League of Nations which set out with much trumpet blowing and with more or less the same purpose. Why did this first experiment miscarry and plunge humanity in a sea of blood once again ? If we do not grapple with realities and are not prepared to undergo the necessary discipline to avert the pending disaster, the next conflagration promises to wipe out all traces of civilisation. It behoves us, therefore, to seek out the elements that make for insecurity in this world of ours and realign them in such a manner that good alone results from their interaction. We shall consider the various factors that make for world insecurity in three groups.—the Human Element, the Economic Element and the Social Element—and examine the different methods of attaining World Security, tried out in the past.

*The Human Element.*—In the long course of evolution and progress in the history of mankind many stages have been passed. If we examine at close quarters the various members making up the human family we shall find even today representatives of these old stages. We may correlate progress in

civilisation with the development of a sense of duties. In the primitive stages man was impelled to action to satisfy his physical needs or by his eagerness to exercise his rights. Accordingly we may divide these stages into five for the sake of convenience—Parasitic, Predatory, Enterprising, Gregarious and Altruistic.

*Parasitic.*—This is the most primitive stage where regardless of consequences a savage satisfies his need. Even in modern society we have examples of this type. A robber who murders a child for the sake of the necklace she wears or a business man who profiteers in the black market in foodstuffs while people are starving to death are projections of this type into the present day world.

*Predatory.*—Persons who try to reap where they have not sown come under this category. When one aims at benefiting oneself without having made an adequate contribution one is predatory. A pickpocket or a businessman who cheats his customers belong to this group.

*Enterprising.*—In the former two stages there is hardly any sense of duty or responsibility. Here in this group we have the beginnings of it in the attempt to balance rights and duties and doing one's duty even at the cost of losing one's rights. An artisan or an honest trader represents this stage.

*Gregarious.*—As the sense of duties develops, consciousness of personal rights tends to diminish. When an individual has become so conscious of his duties to his fellowmen as to subordinate his private interests in favour of group interests, and disciplines himself so as to carry out the dictates of his better self he rises to this stage. A man who can push himself forward but out of consideration for others awaits his turn in the queue to be attended to, or one who refrains

from polluting the water of a river from a social sense belongs to this stage. Because of consideration for others, he keeps under check his tendency to exercise his rights.

*Altruistic.*—When one is so obsessed with one's sense of duty as to be oblivious of one's personal rights one has developed into the highest stage. A mother who thinks of the needs of her child or a nurse who puts the cause of her patient before her interests has evolved to this stage.

The unregulated presence of all these five types causes insecurity in society. The largest number in any society usually comprises the first two types who attempt to ride rough shod over the others who are more or less docile and law abiding. If we desire to have world security, society should be safeguarded against the depredations of these two types in the main.

When profit motive and selfishness are given unbridled sway the third group becomes a menace. The situation has to be met by regulating the scope for profits and canalising selfishness by the infusion of cultural values in the place of material considerations.

Even the fourth group may turn out to be a danger to society if their loyalty is restricted and narrow. Their sense of duty instead of having an unlimited play may be converted almost into a "right" to be defended at all costs as has happened with the Nazis.

There are broadly speaking three ways of preventing these types from working against the interests of others producing insecurity, viz. (1) by segregation, (2) by violently preventing injury, and (3) by cultural means sterilising their power to harm and assimilating them into the other groups. These have been tried out in the past.

*The Church.*—In the Dark Ages the church, not being content to exercise merely spiritual influence, attempted to bring about security by depriving people of freedom of thought and controlling their action by rules and regulations passed by itself. To enforce these the church allied itself with temporal powers and became an overruling state which commanded the obedience of all the others. This seemed to work for a while as long as the big stick was wielded with dexterity. The moment other temporal states felt strong enough to challenge the authority of the church the equilibrium was disturbed. This method was purely external and did not affect the character of the people.

*Islam.*—The followers of the Prophet took up the cultural method of assimilating all heterogeneous groups and hoped by levelling inequalities in society to accomplish the desired end. They met with a much greater measure of success. Amongst them there was no black or white, brown, red or yellow, prince or peasant. Unfortunately this experiment was circumscribed by religious boundaries and so failed to guarantee security in the world at large, where the various disturbing elements had full play to carry on their nefarious roles.

*Varna-Dharma.*—The Hindus made an elaborate effort at attaining the desired security. Their method was complex. They segregated those of the first stage as Panchamas or Mlecchas or outcastes and those of the second as Sudras, and kept them out of the circle of the twice born. In this manner their influence for evil was barricaded out. Then again the profit motive of the third group—the enterprisers—was sterilised by the introduction of a cultural standard of values, where on the one hand material possessions

were denied a status in society, and thus the motive for exploiting the weak was curbed. And on the other, renunciation and service were extolled and given the highest status in society as in the case of the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins, who were entrusted with controlling and guiding the people and in whose selfless lives society ran no risks of insecurity. This was a cultural method as against the prevention of insecurity by physical force and violence. When the caste system went to seed and privileges were acquired by right of birth rather than by reason of character, this system also ceased to function. Thus the disturbing human elements are still running riot uncontrolled by the means tried in the past.

*The Economic Element.*—With the rapid development of communications the most fruitful source of conflict has centred round the economic sphere. The discovery of the power of steam, the harnessing of electricity and the application of scientific methods have made possible centralisation of industries. These large units of production necessitated the control of an adequate supply of raw materials and the acquiring of markets for the quick disposal of the produce. The wide flung commercial field occasioned the growth of money nexus and the capacity to absorb large profits in the form of foreign investments. These factors set up a race in competition and led to the creation of artificial wants. With the consequent complex standard of living and a multiplicity of created wants in highly industrialised countries, it became necessary to hold down other groups of people or nations from attaining this degree of industrialisation so as to reserve for those already in the field the plums of economic activity. These, in short, are the main disturbing elements which upset the even course of life of nations.

In the ancient world, the various religions had attempted to stem this element of conflict in the economic sphere. The early church had tried a form of communism but that was abandoned in course of time.

The spearhead of economic competition, the profit motive, was blunted by the introduction of universal brotherhood by Islam. If riches do not confer any special privileges what is the good of accumulating wealth? But this ideal of brotherhood having been confined to the adherents of their own religion failed to guarantee world security, as the disturbing influence of such elements outside this charmed circle was not under control.

Hinduism granted a grudging third place to the Vaisyas and followed it up by other social traditions which inculcated a cultural standard of values in which persons with purely material possessions found no place unless they played their part as trustees. To them were assigned the onerous duties of building tanks, wells, dharmashalas, schools and generally dispensing what we would term public utility services. This method answered the purpose for a long while until the impact of the material civilization of the West carried all these social barricades and defense works before it by storm. Now these moneyed men are seeking to make a place for themselves in towns as agents of Western imperialism.

For the last generation Russia has been experimenting with varying degrees of communism and state socialism to bring about security for its own people. To do this she has had to curb profit motive and substitute co-operation for competition and control foreign trade. While attempting to modify the urge for private profit she aimed at maintaining a complex standard of life for all her people. She has attained a

certain measure of success in this but not without a great deal of violence—internally and externally. At best, the Russian effort at this stage must be viewed as an amateurish experiment. After a comparatively short period of apparent security, limited to her own boundaries, she has been hurled headlong into the molten cauldron of Europe, with what dire results we all know. This, of course, cannot be the end of our aim of World Security.

A sporadic effort at economic security has been outlined in Great Britain lately by Sir Wm. Beveridge by means of social insurance and other devices. This is a force-pump method. It may alleviate the distress for a while but being artificial it is bound to fail in the end. We are not after finding a palliative to treat symptoms but a cure that will restore nature to work itself out in its own way. The test of an organisation to withstand the onslaughts of insecurity is not when everything is running smoothly but when the clouds burst, the winds blow and the rains beat, and the very foundations seem to be shaken. If our institution can weather such a storm then alone can we be said to have found a solution to this most modern of causes for world insecurity—the economic element.

*The Social Element.*—When a society is made up of heterogeneous groups whose interests clash, there is a fruitful source of insecurity. As we have already seen every society is composed of individuals in various stages of evolution. We classified them in five groups. Unless society can devise a machinery where each of these will perform its function to achieve a common purpose for the benefit of all, security cannot be established.

The ancient Empires of Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome had each in its turn believed they could ensure security to the ruling classes by keeping the lower

orders in bondage. But the Patricians could not ride to security on the shoulders of the plebians nor could Rome maintain its luxurious life for all time on tributes from its politically subordinate provinces.

The British Empire still hopes to assure its ruling classes security by putting into effect its doctrine of "balance of power" notwithstanding repeated failures. Under this order the security of the ruling classes rests on the existence of political slaves who provide raw materials and markets and fields for investment. The whole structure is built on glorifying violence into a virtue to be striven for. The Army, Navy and Air forces have been assigned a high social status to make organised murder respectable.

The several states of North America set out to obtain security by each surrendering a portion of its sovereignty to a Federal Body. This has met with a certain amount of success but mainly in the political field. The social groups which have been formed by reason of economic activities have sought to fortify their position by means of combines and agreements which will ultimately crumble like a pack of cards.

The Russian experiment was founded on amputating the ruling class. It has its roots in class hatred. It is therefore a pathological condition which cannot be commended as a healthy method of working towards security.

The latest device—the security council of the "United Nations" formed at San Francisco—envisages the existence of political slavery, covered up under the euphemistic term of "trusteeship." It also gives recognition to the distinction of the "Big" and the "Small" nations, the criterion of size being based on the power of the respective nations to precipitate world insecurity—the greater the capacity to damage, the bigger the power! The

whole organisation is based on assumptions convenient to the "Big" powers, though not real and natural. The arrangement is highly artificial being founded on the capacity to browbeat others. It is built on fear. No organisation worked on such premises can ever make for wholesomeness or permanence.

*The Solution.*—This problem of insecurity, whatever be the source—social or economic—has been facing humanity all along its history. We have cursorily looked at the numerous ways in which people had tried to solve it with varying measures of success. If our solution is to be lasting we have to go to the root cause of this everpresent nightmare.

At the outset we classified the component parts of society into five groups according to the growth of their sense of duty. At present their fundamental differences make for antagonism and conflict. If this is to be avoided the natural method is to harness these very differences to work towards a common harmony, thus bringing about a synthesis. The ancient Hindu system, though not perfect, indicates the way we have to proceed.

Take, for instance, the first group—the parasitic. How can we harmonise this into a constructive plan? A parasite is destructive in satisfying its needs. If by our ingenuity, we can direct its activity not against its fellow beings but against insentient things then no harm will result by reason of its parasitic nature. If a boy is found to be of the parasitic group and he is of an artistic temperament then if he is trained as a sculptor his destructive tendency finds an outlet in chipping marble blocks and his artistic taste will so direct his work on the marble as to produce a bust or a masterpiece of sculpture. Out of destruction he creates. If instead of his natural proclivities being directed in this manner he is encouraged to enter

politics he will grow up an imperialist, and if he attains influence and power sufficient to become a Prime Minister of an Empire he will plunge the world in bloodshed and misery.

Similarly, a youngster who has predatory tendencies if put into business will organise his affairs in such a way as to bring him as much profit as possible while rendering as little return as can be given. Such a boy, if encouraged to become an engineer, may work his predatoriness against nature and harness the energy of water running waste in a river, and may contribute to the well-being of mankind as a hydroelectric engineer.

Human talents, good though they may be, if not properly directed may be productive of harm and violence. These diverse groups in society are not evil in themselves. They create evil only when their talents are misdirected. The purpose of a proper system of education should be to discover fairly early in the life of a child its natural aptitudes and place it in society in a niche where by reason of its natural ability it will render the greatest service to mankind.

An ill-conceived standard of living, in the same way, may misdirect inborn qualities. If a child of the parasitic or predatory group has been brought up to a standard of life with a wide range of artificially created wants, he would naturally try to satisfy them by all manner of means leading to insecurity of society. The high percentage of crimes in a wealthy country like the U.S.A., is largely attributable to this cause and, conversely, the comparatively fewer crimes in a poverty stricken population of India is accounted for by the extremely simple standard of living obtaining in our land.

**Conclusion.**—No efforts based on purely regulatory methods attempting to prevent persons from acting in a manner

prejudicial to the interests of others can ever confer security on mankind. Physical violence and fear may, no doubt, check anti-social acts being committed brazenly, but the spirit of it will remain submerged for a while only to erupt like a volcano at an unexpected moment. The San Francisco Charter is on this level.

What we need is an overhauling of our social and economic organisations which make periodical wars inevitable. Our standard of living has to be brought into line to satisfy our natural needs for which end alone economic production should be directed. Every nation should be left free to work out its own salvation in its own manner without interference from self-appointed outside "trustees." International trade should be only in surplus products. Every country should be self-supporting in regard to its primary needs. The incentive to control raw materials and markets has to be liquidated. There should be no political overlordship of one nation over another. Armaments should be limited to the bare requirements of each nation for its own internal policing. Production for consumption should be through decentralised industries, and all centralised industries should be worked on a service basis under the strict control of the state, if not state owned. As long as these basic matters are left untouched, pious resolutions emblazoned forth as international charters are not worth the paper they are written on. When people are not prepared to make the sacrifices world security calls for, what can be expected but an eyewash? When we think of the immensity of the cultural and the educational work that has to be done to achieve real security these paper schemes seem puerile and compare well with the sandwalls a boy on the beech builds with his tin bucket and wooden spade to stem the rising flood of the mighty ocean.

# PROBLEMS AND WELFARE OF OUR WOMEN WORKERS

M. VASUDEVA MOORTHY

“The army of women worker in the industries of our country is not a conscious creation but a body which has itself grown haphazard with the disorganization of our social economy.....As it is at present constituted, its employment is a tremendous economic waste, and is instinct with fateful possibilities for the race.” Thus writes Dr. Moorthy in the following article and suggests that processes of work should be scheduled for preferential employment of women, and their lot bettered through legislation, welfare work and organisation with a view to creating a free, healthy and happy body of women workers.

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The increasing entry of our women into gainful occupations is fast rendering the problem of women workers one of national significance. It has broken the old world view of division of labour : “Man for the field and woman for the hearth.” It has disturbed the structure and functions of the primary institution of the family. It has called upon woman to make physical and psychological adjustments doubtfully consistent with her dignity, personality and destiny. Her employment has given her a new “economic status” and this is securing for her political enfranchisement. The whole aspect of the ideological environment is undergoing imperceptible change and forces are now being created for the future transformation of the fabric of our social economy. While there are people who welcome this phenomenon of woman's entry into economic competition as a progressive sign of the times, there are others who view it with undisguised cynicism and read in the process disaster written for the nation. As it always happens in such cases, both the views are on the frontiers of error and the correct approach lies in the middle way. We may clear the situation, to begin with, by answering such questions as : Why do women work ? What are the effects of such work on themselves, their families and society at large ? And if the effects are evil, what should be done to counteract them ?

No doubt a study of the problem of women workers with reference to all occupations will give a better perspective and lead to interesting conclusions. But for lack of space, we shall consider here the case only of women workers employed on a large scale in industrial occupations, as well as in mining and plantations, leaving out of account those engaged in liberal vocations and those working more with their brains than with their hands, making only a passing reference to the latter groups if and when necessary.

It is an age old theory that while biologically and psychologically man is fitted for hardier types of work, the woman is especially equipped by nature to bear the burdens of the family : to bear children, to rear them, and not only make the home a cheerful place for her husband but also to minister to his comfort through innumerable minor and tender services. Naturally therefore, it is held that while man contributes directly to social economy, the woman does so only indirectly, her main contribution being to domestic economy. But it is doubtful whether in the history of any community, the production and distribution of its wealth have depended merely on the labours of its male members, and its women have had no direct share in such economy. Certain sections of the female population have at one time or the other been drawn into extra-domiciliary functions. Women of the higher class families,

and some of the lower classes also are not usually engaged in gainful occupations, contenting themselves with the comfortable doctrine that man alone is the economic producer and to women is given the management of the home. This attitude is not quite unnatural and there is some scientific reason for its persistence. But whether it can continue to persist with the breakdown of the old, simple economy and the growth of modern industrialism, with its net-work of international influences, time alone can tell.

*Women Workers in Old India.*—In old India women did work for their livelihood outside the sphere of their own families, but they did so largely under the pressure of calamities as in the case of Draupadi and Taramati, the wife of Harischandra. The word "*dasi*" (female slave or maid servant) is evidence of the fact that women were accepted as useful workers, whatever be the sentimental objection towards their treatment. But these persons were treated as adjuncts to the families in which they worked though they could move from family to family, a privilege which many rarely exercised. We also read of women who worked as bodyguards to princes at the Court and helped the State Department as spies. Some women were employed as *dhais*, indigenous professional midwives, a class which survives even to-day. Nor was industrial occupation of women a rare phenomenon. There was a State Superintendent who was responsible for providing work to the needy women citizens. Says Kautilya, "Those women who do not stir out of their houses, those whose husbands are gone abroad, and those who are cripple

or girls may, when obliged to work for subsistence, be provided with work (spinning out threads) in due courtesy through the medium of maid servants (of the weaving establishment)."<sup>1</sup> Again, "widows, cripple women, girls, mendicants or ascetic women, women compelled to work in default of paying fines, mothers of prostitutes, old women-servants of the king, and prostitutes who have ceased to attend temples on service shall be employed to cut wool, fibre, cotton panicle, hemp and flax."<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that great regard was paid to the modesty of these working women and measures were taken to ensure the same by providing for the punishment of superintendents for indiscreet behaviour towards women and for delay in the payment of wages.<sup>3</sup> In certain cases, as a welfare measure, women workers were also given massages with oils and ointments to keep their heads and eyes cool.<sup>4</sup>

*Women in Factories.*—It is thus evident that in old India women were employed in economic occupations and attention was paid to conditions arising out of female employment. With the decay of social institutions and the gradual expansion of economic society an increasing number of women were driven to seek employment in various occupations,—a process which has been today accelerated and emphasised by industrialization. The 1931 census showed that 48·8 million women were gainfully employed; and these comprised 31 per cent of the total population in employment. Of course, a large part of this number were agricultural women workers; but it is estimated that there were over a million women in organized industries alone in 1931.<sup>5</sup>

1. Arthashastra (Shama), Bk. II, Ch. 23.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. "Tailimalakodvartanaih."

5. Industrial Labour in India I. L. O. (1938), p. 31.



Factories, plantations and mines form the largest fields of employment for our women; and it is here that they are concentrated in great numbers. In 1892 there were 43,592 women working daily in 656 factories. The number of factories in various industries has steadily grown since then and with it the number of

women. In 1936, women workers numbered 239,875 in 9,323 factories. One important fact of factory employment of women is that their percentage of total employment is greater to males in seasonal factories than in the perennial ones as is shown in the following table.<sup>6</sup>

Proportion of Workers in Perennial and Seasonal Factories in 1936.

Workers :	Total Workers in Factories :	Workers in Perennial Factories :		Workers in Seasonal Factories :	
		Number :	Percent of Total :	Number :	Percent of Total :
Men ...	1,376,185	1,161,338	84.4	214,847	15.6
Women ...	234,206	152,921	65.3	81,285	34.7
Adolescents ...	29,694	20,647	69.8	9,047	30.2
Children ...	12,062	8,814	73.6	3,248	26.4

Cotton and jute mills are important centres in which 42.6 per cent of the total number of women employed in factories are engaged. Engineering and metal works, and factories connected with tobacco, chemicals and dyes, paper manufacture, sugar, etc., absorb the rest. There are other numerous sweated industries like knitting and *bidi* making which engage

a considerable number of women but figures are not available for these.

The employment of women in factories is not uniform all over India but varies from province to province. The distribution of women workers in factories in various places given in the following table is interesting from a sociological and economic point of view.<sup>7</sup>

Distribution by Province of Factory Workers, 1936.  
(Average Daily Numbers of Workers Employed)

Province :	Number of Factories :	Number of Workers :	
		Men :	Women :
Madras ...	1,584	113,844	44,115
Bombay ...	1,611	324,027	62,652
Sind ...	282	20,078	4,552
Bengal ...	1,667	460,742	59,271
United Provinces ...	527	140,209	5,641
Punjab ...	747	53,399	8,155
Burma ...	985	76,821	11,447
Bihar ...	274	80,571	5,565
Orissa ...	64	2,411	918
C. P. and Berar ...	718	42,492	20,294
Assam ...	710	32,068	9,583
N. W. Frontier Province ...	27	1,061	16
Baluchistan ...	10	1,696	—
Ajmer-Merwara ...	40	12,455	1,124
Delhi ...	60	13,114	343
Bangalore and Coorg ...	17	1,197	530
Total :	9,323	1,376,185	234,206

6. Ibid., p. 44.

7. Industrial Labour in India. I. L. O. (1938), p. 49

A study of the table reveals that the percentage of women employed with reference to men is strikingly low in places like Delhi, Ajmere-Merwara, Baluchistan, North Western Frontier Province, United Provinces, Sind as compared to Bangalore and Coorg, Madras, Central Provinces, Bombay and Bengal. The reason for the difference may be that the women of the Northern provinces are less free than their Southern sisters who are not subject to the *purdha* system ; and also that the women of the Southern provinces are poorer than their Northern sisters.

*Women in Plantations.*—Plantation industries which employ large numbers of women comprise, tea, coffee and rubber. Madras, Coorg, Mysore, and the South-Western States of Travancore and Cochin are important centres of coffee industry while rubber is chiefly grown in Burma and Travancore. Assam, Bengal, the Punjab, Madras and Travancore are tea-growing places. "An important feature of plantation industries is that, in proportion to men, they employ more women than

any other form of organized industry."

It is estimated that women workers in all classes of plantations in 1931 numbered 693,299 forming over 36 per cent of the total workers. The explanation given for the presence of more women in plantations than in other industries is that plantation work is like agricultural work and therefore has more attraction for women, and that facilities have been provided for family settlements on the plantations. But the matter needs more investigation in view of the fact that wages and conditions of work are hardly satisfactory to induce any permanent attachment to the plantations on the part of the workers.

*In Mines.*—Recent underground employment of women in mines has aroused wide-spread interest in their cause. Mines, comprising coal, mica, tin-ore, manganese ore, iron ore and other industries provide employment to large groups of women. Mining centres are in Bihâr, Bengal, C.P., Madras, Mysore and Burma. The employment distribution between the sexes during 1901-36 may be seen from the following table.

Sex Distribution of Workers in Mines.

(Figures for children have been omitted).

Year :	Men :		Women :	
	Number :	Per Cent of Total :	Number :	Per Cent of Total :
1901	69,025	65.9	30,488	29.2
1924	164,402	63.7	87,434	33.8
1926	181,616	69.8	78,497	30.2
1933	171,038	82.8	35,469	17.2
1936	227,958	84.2	42,635	15.8

It may be noticed that the employment curve for women for the first twenty four years shows an upward trend followed by a small but not negligible fall during the next two years and then rapidly declines within a further decade. This is so because between 1926-29 public

agitation started against the horrible conditions of work and living in mines, especially against women employment underground. The Labour Commission of 1929 after a full enquiry recommended the gradual elimination of women from working underground with a view to

completely stopping such employment by 1939. The International Labour Conference in 1935 laid down a convention at Geneva prohibiting underground employment of women in mines. And by October, 1937, the Government of India secured the complete elimination of women employment underground. But previous to this ban, a larger per cent of women were underground workers ; in 1924 nearly 69 per cent of all women mine workers worked underground. By 1936 the per cent thus employed came down to 5.59. But in 1943, as an emergency measure, and with many apologies (and also with many illogical arguments) the Government withdrew the ban ; and it is claimed that immediately following the withdrawal of the ban about 10,000 women went underground.<sup>9</sup>

As has been pointed out earlier, women engaged in factories, plantations and mines do not exhaust all categories of workers. Not an inconsiderable number of women are employed in unorganized and seasonal industries, like building works ; in road construction (railroad included) under private contractors as well as public bodies ; in public work departments, and in essential municipal sanitary services. Due to war old services have been intensified and new ones created. Male labour has been diverted for active military purposes and consequently there is a tremendous increase in female employment. But this is a temporary phase and much of it is bound to cease with the war. Still, taking the tendency of the times into account it may be predicted that in the post-war period, of the total labour of our country about thirty per cent, if not more, will be composed of female labour and at least, about a million and a quarter

will be engaged in various kinds of industries alone. It will be noticed that this is no great departure from the pre-war period ; but we have taken into account various counteracting forces as increase in the technical knowledge of men, increasing mobility, higher wages of men, better standard of living—all of which constitute powerful limiting factors to female employment in the post-war period.

*Why Women Work.*—Now as an answer to the question, why do our women work, it may be directly stated that the earnings of the families of which they are members are so low that they are compelled to work in order to add their own quota to the family total. Very few of our women would be working if their husbands, fathers, or brothers or sons were adequately employed and paid. Thus it is the low wage of the men workers that is generally driving women to seek employment. In many cases, they are even sent out to work by their own family members quite against their desire and will. Wherever men earn a fair wage adequate to maintain the family, the female members seldom work ; nor are they generally permitted to work by the male earners. A large section of our women workers are those whose families are in indigent circumstances, who are either widows or deserted women without means, and those who, for whatever social or personal cause, have fallen and lost their status and caste in life. To these may also be added those women who work in order to be economically free and independent. This gives a fairly good idea of the type of female labour available in our country,—a very dismal picture, indeed !

Therefore, it is not surprising that most of our women workers are illiterate and ignorant, unskilled and too full of human weaknesses to be able to better their own lot. They are dumb driven cattle twice exploited,—by the members of their own families as well as by the employers. Their numbers show a tendency to increase with the lowness of the male earners' wages and also with the extent of the disintegration of the families. The army of workers in the industries of our country is not a conscious creation but a body which has itself grown haphazard with the disorganization of our social economy. Its character is such that it can neither be scientifically recruited nor steadily maintained. As it is at present constituted, its employment is a tremendous economic waste, and is instinct with fateful possibilities for the race.

*Disabilities of Women.*—Here we may mention a few features peculiar to women labour everywhere, but features which especially complicate the problem in India. They constitute the disabilities of women and their study may incidentally indicate the scope of welfare work and suggest lines of approach to the problem. The woman is physically weaker than the man ; hence unsuited for strenuous occupations. In addition, she is also subject to the occasional disability of bearing children which requires her to rest for long periods before and after delivery. Then she has the burden of the growing child which is physically and emotionally dependent on her. Its care takes much of her time and its sickness often interferes with her work. She has also to function as a housewife, preparing food, keeping things in order, providing company to her husband and extending hospitality to guests and relatives. If the husband or any other member of the

family falls ill, she is invariably detained from work, she being the only natural and available nurse. These factors alone are responsible for a great deal of absenteeism amongst our women workers, rendering their work unsteady and irregular. The family is a graver concern for the Indian woman than for her Western sister. In the West the number of women who work for their own support is much greater than those who work to support their household wholly or in part, whereas in India the situation is reverse. Here many work for the upkeep of the family also ; hence the problem of the working woman who is a wife as well as a mother is peculiarly acute. We have already spoken of the utter illiteracy and ignorance which characterize our women workers. Another discouraging factor is that women are liable to lose their social status as soon as they become workers. This is due, in the first place, to the persistence of the age old superstition that extradomestic occupation is unworthy of woman, and in the second place, to the common belief that such a worker, exposed as she is to outside contacts, cannot maintain her chastity. These views are utterly wrong and are giving place to more modern outlook. But as long as the social stigma and suspicion continues the ordinary working woman cannot but develop a sense of inferiority.

*Factories Act.*—The disabilities of women workers are to some extent, counteracted, firstly by legislative enactments which demand improvements in working conditions for women, and secondly by the provision of welfare measures. Amongst legislative enactments concerning women, the Indian Factories Act and the Maternity Benefit Act are important. The measures are not uniform all over the country and there are minor provincial variations

as to details. But generally speaking the Factories Act prohibits women from being employed in hazardous operations, bans night work for them, and requires factories employing more than fifty women workers to maintain creches. But as workers are very ignorant, employers take advantage and frequently disregard the rules. Since there is no efficient system of supervision, and factories work behind guarded gates and high walls, abuses seldom come to light. A woman inspector was appointed in the Bombay Presidency in 1924 to inaugurate and inspect creches in cotton mills. The Royal Commission on Labour "recommended that women inspectors should be more widely employed on this (inauguration and inspection of creches) and other welfare work as well as in the enforcement of the law in respect of women workers and such duties as checking hours of work."<sup>10</sup> In some provinces the services of lady doctors are being utilized as part time inspectors. But perhaps due to dearth of trained women social workers, the system has not yet become efficient. Since, during the war, the number of women workers has increased, the Government have thought fit to appoint an All India Lady Welfare Inspector and also one for the mines. The All India Lady Welfare Inspector in addition to her supervision of conditions and hours of work, functions as a labour welfare adviser and, when disputes arise, also as a conciliation officer. Obviously this is too much for a single person to do efficiently. We hope the women personnel in our labour management will be increased and become a permanent and useful feature of administration.

*Maternity Benefit Act.*—A word may be said about the Maternity Benefit Act.

The Act seeks to give compulsory rest to the woman worker for one month before and one month after delivery. The object is to safeguard the health of the working woman, and her baby. During her rest period the woman is given a cash benefit of about eight annas per day. In spite of its numerous defects—and it is not our purpose to enter into them—the Act has been a welcome relief to many working women. We suggest that the sum of cash benefit should be increased and the period of rest before and after confinement extended to at least two months each. Also, the Act should be uniformly administered in all the provinces and it must be properly enforced in all industries. Recently it was revealed in the Legislative Assembly that women in advanced stages of pregnancy were working underground in mines and that a woman actually delivered underground during the course of her employment! If this happens under the noses of officials, what should be the condition in private factories and far flung plantations! Evidently roused by such happenings the Government passed in June 1945 an amendment to the Mines Materinty Benefit Act of 1941, prohibiting the employment of women underground for ten weeks before and twenty six weeks after delivery. The amendment also fixes the rate of benefit to be Rs. 6/- a week for ten weeks preceding delivery and for six weeks following.

*Women's Work and Wages.*—It must be confessed that legislation, as far as our women are concerned, is grossly inadequate and touches but the fringe of the problem. It does not fully safeguard their interests wherever they are employed. The essential principle of

labour legislation with reference to women should be not only to prevent employers from taking advantage of their helplessness and weaker position but to also compel the employers to adopt measures which would help women overcome handicaps peculiar to them. But too many demands and restrictions on the employers are bound to affect the employment of women adversely by making it costly from the point of view of the industry. Women are usually employed in lighter occupations in which it is uneconomical to engage men who can be employed with advantage in heavier processes. Thus the employment of women in lighter processes releases male labour to be utilized in comparatively heavier occupations. On the assumption that women do lighter and lesser work, they are universally paid less than men. But even where they work in similar occupations, invidious distinctions are made. There is no reason why women and men should not be paid equal wages for equal work. Without going into the complex theories of women's wages we may suggest that "equal pay for equal work" must be enforced; and wherever women are paid less than men for similar type and piece of work the employer must be penalized, as that is a clear case of exploitation. We suggest a scheduling of processes and types of occupations where it should be compulsory for employers to engage, in preference to men, women workers whenever they offer to serve. This will be an advantage to women as well as to the industry. It may also lead to the stabilization of wage rates and eliminate wasteful and suicidal competition between men and women workers. In addition, the scheduling of employments will make supervision easier. We repeat that men should be reserved for more strenuous occupations and not be allowed to compete

with women for lighter jobs unless special reasons exist. The possibility of scheduling occupations for preferential employment of women in other walks of life also is a tempting field which we shall leave social thinkers to survey. But it should be stated that such a classification is bound to lead to the establishment of a better and more harmonious social economy. The physical, intellectual and emotional equipment of men and women, though not widely dissimilar, are yet of different types. Man does not repeat woman. "Woman is not undeveloped man." One complements and completes the other. The talents of both must be properly canalized so that they work together—but in their own spheres—towards the fulfilment of a vaster common social destiny.

*Creches.*—While employers generally try to evade the conditions imposed upon them by legislature as regards the employment of women, their response, whenever it is forthcoming, is apologetic. Take for instance, the creche which seeks to relieve the working mother of the burden of the baby by caring for it during her working hours. Before creches were introduced most working mothers, especially in Bombay, used to drug their children with opium and go to work leaving them in charge of an elder girl or boy, or sometimes even with no one to look after them. Of course, conditions, have improved much now and there are a few good creches provided by some of our employers for the care of the little children of their women workers. But there are others which are dirty halls where stupid looking children are found squalling or sprawling, toddling or squatting. There is neither scientific administration nor efficient leadership in such creches. You cannot create a creche by merely bringing together children in a hall and

putting an *ayah* in their midst to keep them from quarrelling and getting into mischief !

It must be understood that the organization of the creche is part of the welfare work for women, and must be scientifically built up. It must be divided into age groups, each group, if it is large enough, to be in charge of an *ayah* who will work directly under the guidance of a Creche Superintendent (a lady officer) responsible for all the activities of the creche. The Superintendent has to plan the bathing, feeding and play programmes of the children in collaboration with the doctor of the work place and the welfare officer. The details of the programme in each case will depend on the initiative, imagination and tact of the Creche Superintendent. It is besides the scope of this article to give a welfare plan for the creche.

We hope that creches will become realities wherever women are largely employed. They must also be compulsorily introduced in plantations and mines. An Ordinance dated May, 25, 1945 authorizes the Central Government to make rules for the maintenance of creches in mines where women are employed. The matter has been discussed in the recent session of the Legislature and it yet appears to be in the stage of taking final shape.<sup>11</sup>

**Welfare Work.**—As regards welfare work for women workers voluntarily undertaken by employers, it must be admitted that a great deal yet remains to be done. Very few employers have separate welfare activities for women and the general welfare department is supposed to include women also. But since they do not mix with men socially, women seldom participate in general welfare activities. Where separate women welfare departments exist the activities included

are radio music, occasional cinemas, *bhajans* and *hari kathas*, and annual sports where usually the employers and employees have an opportunity to appear together in photograph ! The dispensation of some benefits now and then in the form of cash or kind is also included in the welfare programme. It may be readily seen how unimaginative and apathetic are the welfare activities of the employers. But the employer does not deserve all the blame for this failure. For, it is much more difficult to organize welfare work for working women than for men. It is a delicate task which has to be carefully managed, a task which requires, more than money, constructive wisdom and sympathy. There are personal and social barriers to be overcome, age long antipathies and settled prejudices of class, caste and sex. Having been born and bred up in a cheerless environment, the working woman believes that education is beyond her reach, that recreation is not for her, that social and club life is something unimaginable. Therefore her welfare programme requires to be very carefully planned.

Welfare programme for the working women falls into two sections: (a) inside the workplace and (b) outside the workplace. The former concerns itself with, 1. conditions of work, 2. adjustment of the woman to her work, and 3. miscellaneous items. Conditions of work include, hours of work, lighting and sanitation ; while adjustment of the woman to her work will take into account the nature of the work and precautions arising out of it ; rest hours, and light radio music to enlighten the tedium of the work. Miscellaneous items are, cloak room arrangements, newspaper reading, accidents and their treatment in the works hospital ; the creche ; the canteen and the mess.

11. Indian Information, June 15, 1945.

Welfare work outside the factory will include housing arrangement if possible ; literacy and adult education with special reference to (1) domestic science subjects, e.g. cooking, house-hygiene, etc. (2) basic sex knowledge and (3) child-care ; useful arts like knitting, sewing and tailoring, and for those who are interested, pure arts like, music and histrionics ; simple indoor and outdoor games ; occasional camping and picnics ; picture shows ; *bhajans* and *kathas* ; and swimming clubs wherever possible. Besides these, provision of medical and clinical help with follow-up service, pre-natal and post-natal service, savings bank and cost price grain shops may also be included in the programme. As a part of welfare activities, arrangement may also be made for transport services of the working women, to and fro between homes and the work place. All these activities should be guided by a Woman Welfare Officer helped by the Welfare Officer (male) of the place. The Woman Welfare Officer should be assisted by an adequate staff of social workers.

The plan we have given is only a suggestion in outline and is not meant to be exhaustive. The Woman Welfare Officer can work out the details and add many more new items to the programme according to the time and place and fashion of the day, and also the leisure available to the worker and her home environment which are important factors determining the success or failure of welfare work. It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that social contacts between male and female workers should be encouraged and brought about as often as possible with due regard to their feelings. Everything depends on the training the Woman Welfare Officer has had, and on her capacity for leadership. If she is a woman

of personality, courage and faith we doubt not that she will bring light and joy into the lives of many a working woman.

*Organization of Working Women.*—Turning aside from this pleasant vision of what can be done one faces hard realities. Our women workers are yet hopelessly at the mercy of the Government and employers in the matter of their work, wages and welfare. Statutory provisions and safeguards are inadequate ; voluntary welfare work is an eyewash, and when genuine, is but a poor affair. The working woman is too uneducated and ignorant to organise. She neither understands problems nor appreciates trends pertaining to her life and environment. She does not keep contacts, hardly extends them. She is busy at her work place and busier at her home. Her brother workers are slow in admitting her to equal status. Consequently, both her group solidarity and bargaining power are very weak. She has few leaders who can voice her cause, marshal her sentiments and call her forth for iron action. Hence, she is exposed to merciless exploitation.

But the day is not far distant when the tide shall turn. With the spread of mass education and national consciousness the position of the woman worker shows signs of improvement. Her organizational strength shows a tendency for the better as may be seen from the following table.<sup>12</sup>

**Number of women members of registered Trade Unions**

Year	Member-ship
1927-28	... 1,168
1928-29	... 3,842
1929-30	... 3,299
1930-31	... 3,151



**Number of women members of  
registered Trade Unions—(Contd.)**

Year	Member- ship
1931-32	... 3,454
1932-33	... 5,090
1933-34	... 2,999
1934-35	... 4,837
1935-36	... 7,309
1936-37	... 9,025
1937-38	... 14,703
1938-39	... 10,945
1939-40	... 18,612
1940-41	... 19,417
1941-42	... 17,094
1942-43	... 25,972

These figures, though imposing, do not really mean much ; but they are significant pointers of coming events. They show that our working women have come to stay as a class and are growing ; that they *will* be organized and will unite with men to fight the battles of the new proletariat. But these events are yet in the womb of the future. In the meanwhile it is the duty of the State and the people to improve the quality and character of the working woman and better her standard of living. She is full of natural and social disabilities. What she needs is an assurance that she will not be exploited, will get a *fair wage* for *fair work*. That is

but her right. Then she should be given opportunities for getting vocationally trained. She is frequently condemned as an unskilled worker, and as such she remains all her life. She has no prospects of promotion or success whatsoever ; and yet it is the State and the people that are responsible for keeping her untrained and unfit. Amongst all the numerous schemes for training workers, technicians and personnel in India and abroad it does not appear that women come in any where. No attempt is yet made to transform the present army of women workers into a scientifically recruited body. For our purblind and sterile legislators such a course appears not to be in the realms of feasibility. But any one with a moiety of social sense may comprehend that to keep for long a section of growing workers, unskilled and with no scope for improvement for themselves and for their generation, is a danger to the body politic. It is especially so when that section is composed of women workers. For, women are mothers. The nurture of a new race depends upon them. That nation cannot rise whose social economy leads to the degradation of its women. The people perish who drive their mothers underground and employ them, without shame, in lowly occupations.

## PUNISHMENT IN PRISONS.

DR. MISS VAN WATERS.

The prison is usually conceived and planned to be a place where the delinquent spends his or her time in idle repentance or nourishes thoughts of future crime. Dr. Miss Van Waters, who is a noted penologist and a well-known author, makes a plea for treating the prison as an education centre which provides incentives for the creative expression of the inmates. She illustrates her argument by an account of a successful experiment carried out by her in the Institution in her charge.

Dr. Miss Mariam Van Waters is the Superintendent of the State Reformatory for Women at Framingham, Massachusetts.

Two organized agencies for education men and women who characterize our civilization. A portion of the world's best literature and some of our mosq

poignant prayers have been written in prison (but not by wardens). The excellence of some prisoners compares favourably with the graduates of the schools. The failures of the schools may result in as much social damage as the prison failures. The experience of education in both agencies has elements in common. Both are intense inner worlds of their own, saying they wish to prepare for life, but remaining curiously aloof from life as the general community lives it. Both have their rigid ancient traditional wisdoms, their ritual and superstitions, yet have called on modern medicine, psychology, psychiatry, science and the arts to aid.

Prison presents the sterner realism ; neither the system, nor the students can escape an ultimate reckoning. No one can be expelled. Those who graduate without equipment for economic survival, or without incentive to live harmlessly with their neighbours are returned for another term. The feeble-minded and the gifted work together. The sick are cared for under the same roof. The traitors and the loyal share the same bread.

Under our whimsical administration of criminal justice we have segregated in prisons a fairly representative cross section of humanity. For delinquency attacks all, and the justice-net, though ill-equipped to exercise its functions of justice, has the advantage from a laboratory view-point of catching a fair sampling of humanity. Thus it comes about that causes external to himself determine whether or not an individual shall be selected for a prison education.

Psychologically there is a justification and this is recognized by the more robust and reasonable prisoners. This justifica-

tion is found in the feeling of defect we all experience.

Proust puts it :

I found in the punishment that had been inflicted upon me.....that relation which almost always exists in human sanctions, the effect of which is that there is hardly ever either a fair sentence or a judicial error, but a sort of compromise between the false idea that the judge forms of an innocent action and the culpable deeds of which he is unaware.<sup>1</sup>

The enduring problem for education is to describe those forces which operate most powerfully to modify human behaviour. I have selected two for discussion, penalty and incentive.

By definition, I wish to exclude from the term penalty the natural consequences of acts, and confine it to those measured and artificially produced ills we inflict to aid learning. We shall see complexity here. Some artificial penalties may be accepted by the individual and given a total inner response that makes them function as natural. The influence of penalty is unpredictable. Rats may not react alike. An animal psychologist told me a big rat may be overwhelmed and bewildered by a penalty a small rat finds an aid to learning : or the reverse may be true. In human learning pain has value : perhaps pain is at the core of learning. But in schools and prison the inflicted penalty is a dangerously uncertain instrument, especially since it is usually inflicted by those who are unworthy of imitation.

By "incentive" I wish to name not the reward given for acceptance or performance, but the process by which an external stimulus produces a response in harmony with the purpose of the educator. Here,

<sup>1</sup> M. Proust, *Albertine Disfarne*, Part VI of *A la Recherche du Temps Perdue*, C. K. Scott Moncrieff translation. New York : Knoff, 1930, p. 41.

too, we find complexity. The reward may stand as a symbol for the true incentive, harmonious with the creative purpose of both educator and learner. In this case, the reward is not what gives voltage to conduct—it is something added by way of recognition.

Incentive is derived from *incentius*, striking up a tune, inciting: it comes from the word meaning to sound an instrument.

Whenever we try to pin down a factor of the learning process and to describe what takes place within the human creature we are confronted by the poverty of language. Terms like stimulus, inspiration, influence, response, incentive, are names for guesses in metaphysics of processes, the exact nature of which has never been comprehended.

Within the controlled and restricted conditions of the prison certain conclusions may be stated, as to how learning takes place.

The Reformatory Prison for Women of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at Framingham, Mass., sums up over a half century of penal theory and practice. Built as a factory, then enlarged and altered in the same architectural concepts as Wellesley College, it was opened for erring Massachusetts females in November, 1877. It was a venture in mid-nineteenth century liberalism, and was fought for by intrepid social reformers. All women criminals serving terms in jail from one year to life were gathered under its roof. The present age range is 17 to 70. Crimes range from stubborn child,<sup>2</sup> street walking, being without lawful employment, evading taxi fare, to murder. The population is approximately 420,

sixty of whom are babies under three years of age. At least 80 per cent are sentenced for personal or domestic maladjustment, alcoholism, drug addiction, neglect of children, fornication, adultery, desertion of home, vagrancy, etc. The remaining 20 per cent are found guilty of theft, arson, armed robbery, forgery, embezzlement, abortion, manslaughter and murder. The intelligence quotients run from 40 to 140. Although the general health of the population seems good and there are few absentees from work, or classes, this daily efficiency is due more to systematic living under regimen than it is to physical well-being. Almost every known functional and organic disability is present.

The institution has a 350 acre farm, a dairy, four factories which produce goods for other public institutions, and a poultry department of 12,000 birds. The value of these industries in money turned into the Treasury of the Commonwealth is approximately 200,000 per year, while the maintenance budget is approximately \$ 240,000.

Hard labour, which the State values above everything, and which some mental hygienists in Europe use as their most effective therapeutic agent, is the basic structure of our plan. It gives meaning to time and identifies the self with responsibility. It gives a sense of order. The industrial instructors are trained shop people, and some are affiliated with organized labour.

The institution is a self-contained community, having the aspects of factory, farm, home, school, hospital, nursery, playground, jail and a scientific laboratory.

2 In Massachusetts "stubbornness" is a felony derived from Colonial Puritan law. Formerly punished with death, it now is handled in juvenile court and institutions up to the 17th birthday, thereafter in State's Prison during minority.

Those who leave are placed and supervised in jobs, if employable.

The programme of child care and parent education is planned with numerous objectives in view. The beneficent policy of some modern penal institutions for women is to have a nursery. Even a prison cannot ignore biology. Expectant mothers are given the best pre-natal care available. The courts permit an offending mother to bring her young infant. In Framingham 28 per cent are married mothers. The child-parent relationship is used as a natural incentive. The mother is given education in child care. Over a five-year period approximately 97 per cent of the babies have been sent out with their mothers. The aim is to keep mother and child together permanently. Material and social aid is provided by the resources of the institution and co-operative private agencies. Health supervision is furnished by nurses of the Public Health Department. Our carefully accumulated records of the individual child, covering pediatric, psychological, and social observations give the background needed for a constructive plan. The hope is to follow these children and mothers in the community as long as possible.

Within the institution, the presence of babies who are given the utmost skilled care is an incentive that speaks precision, responsibility, patience and love. This demonstration affects some who are not mothers. As a means of education, it has value.

No theory of delinquency has explained its mechanisms satisfactorily. We are, therefore, without sure guides as to treatment. It may be observed that change in attitude accompanies change in conduct. This change of attitude may be described as an intensification of meaning in personal experience. It is evident

that this must be linked to ideas and concepts so important that the self becomes absorbed in an adventure beyond itself.

When the church had power not only to remit sin, but to grant spiritual aids to the back-sliding, it employed all the resources of learning, music, drama, poetry, painting, sculpture, every work of the mind, to bring understanding and beauty into common daily life.

The incentives of the age that built the cathedrals must have moved all sorts and conditions of persons. I assume that the progressive schools of today are in search of faith and that they desire to give youth incentives to produce for modern culture the works of the mind and spirit that make life worth while. Is not that what their phrase, "education for life", means?

The words have a sinister sound to those who must think of the thousands of youth sent to prison for life.

The educator in prison is forced to accept the outer world as he finds it. His concern is with the minds of his students, and the phrase, "education for life," is his challenge to furnish minds with vital concepts.

The means at his disposal include those ideas of order, of form, harmony, truth, beauty and intensity which are imparted by art. The great works of the mind expressed in art, poetry, handcraft, music, sculpture, drama, biography and history must be rescued from the pedants and offered as spiritual food to the masses for whom they were originally intended. Simplification and interpretation may be needed, but not cheapening. What a mistake to think prisoners will not appreciate the essence of masterpieces. Prisoners, in their isolation, or protection from ordinary comforts, preoccupations, and excitements are peculiarly susceptible

to emotion and to aesthetic perception. Perhaps malnutrition and the adversity suffered in childhood has something to do with it. Certainly the crisis of a prison sentence accelerates the learning process for good or evil.

In the Framingham institution, art, poetry, drama, music and fine handcraft are not only taught, but produced.<sup>3</sup>

The values stressed in this prison art are, of course, enjoyment, then the sense of personal power and worth, then recognition and approval that are the legitimate rewards. Indirectly, in addition to an aesthetic satisfaction, it may be supposed that ethical values are glimpsed. The values of accuracy, the subordination of details to unity in composition, the demand for persistence and renewal of faith, the necessity to please others and to join efforts with others are certainly ethical values.

The programme of education in Framingham includes spontaneous interest groups, hobbies, activities and clubs. Each industrial group has its guild or club. There are discussion groups. The Parole Club discusses success and failure on release. The Senior Club expresses and conserves the interests of old age. The Two Side Club, a club of leaders, discusses the many-sided aspects of the living problems that arise in prison and beyond. Each group may select and execute a project for the common good.

A new goal will be discovered and appropriated by the student, who will then mobilize all forces, including the defect to its service. It is important to note that the defect appears to be an integral part of the personality. If the individual becomes a useful citizen in the outside

community it is because certain self-standards have been set up which are in harmony with the individual's central-pattern. The process is not reformation, but a new slant.

When a student has gained insight as to the real significance of limitations they may become a spur. The interpretation of defect is the teachers' responsibility. The student may then proceed to use it as an affirmation, not a finality. Beethoven's deafness, Nugchi's burnt finger stumps, McKenzie's medical school failure, Edison's reported elementary school dullery, are cases in point: so, too, are conversions during religious experience. The essential element is that no "conviction of sin", or honest awareness of defect be glossed over.

The testing of these methods of learning comes when the student is released. It is not within the scope of this paper to give case histories, but some generalizations may be stated. Students who succeed conspicuously do so in the face of some exacting demand. The task, as mother, wife, domestic, hospital attendant, or any one of the wide range of industrial, commercial, or semi-professional employments open may be routine, but it must appear significant. Whoever first observed or invented the story of the three workmen knew it is possible to conceive any task in terms of architecture; they were all carrying bricks up a scaffolding; when asked what are you doing, the first workman said, "I am carrying bricks to the third story;" the second, "I am earning three dollars per day," the third, "I am building St. Michael's Cathedral."

Each prisoner has been conspicuously humiliated in her community. Each

3 For description of poetry written by our women see: Hilda Hinckley's article *Pegasus* Atlantic Monthly, April, 1937. For drama see: Hilda Hinckley's article *Cell Block to Green Room* Theatre Arts Monthly, October 1937.

must be reassured of her personal worth before rehabilitation takes place. Proof is furnished when an objective task makes its reality felt. Too often both teacher and student use an acknowledgment of defect for comfort, to avoid further effort.

In a prison it is found that even old age is no barrier to learning ideas. Diseased and broken tissues can learn. New images and concepts of the self, new relationships to contemporary life are always possible. Incentives to courage and compassion may turn an appalling old age to perceptions and actions where the spiritual world becomes real. No "case" is hopeless : there are only hopeless social workers. If this statement is startling coming from a penologist, I need only remind my reader that all knowledge is faith, confirmed by experiment.

Incentive and penalty are forces in education. In both school and prison ideas are the primary incentives. Concepts and imagination concerning the common good make for wholeness of personality and for vital conduct. The philosophy of Spinoza expresses this viewpoint :

Virtue is nothing else but action in accordance with the laws of one's own nature.

There is nothing, I repeat, more excellent for preserving their being can be wished for by men, than that all should so in all points agree, that the minds and bodies of all should form, as it were, one single mind and one single body..... Hence men who are governed by reason... desire for themselves nothing, which they do not also desire for the rest of mankind, and, consequently, are just, faithful and honourable in their conduct.<sup>4</sup>

To be governed by reason certainly does not mean those elaborate calculations of consequences of acts by means of which we hope for material reward, or escape from material penalty. An education or a penology based on such calculations provides no drive to the will. The man who said I do not care who makes the laws of my country if I can make the songs has caught the true nature of incentive.

To be governed by reason it is necessary that the mind be informed of true ideas. These ideas have received their form and expression from scientists, artists, philosophers, and saints. They are also products of our own creative thinking. Mrs. Dummer's book, *Why I Think So*, shows how an idea may inform a life, "as the spirit of the Lord clothed itself in Gideon." Transmitted to school teachers of little children it was noted the children "came alive"; imparted to psychiatrists and probation officers, juvenile delinquents began to be understood.<sup>5</sup>

Nothing is so needed in the education of today as clear ideas which serve as incentives to youth. These ideas must first be held and formulated in the minds of teachers, who impart them. The teacher must not think a mere sharing of 'life in common is sufficient and that by some beneficent process of maturation ideas will grow. On the other hand, the ideas are not to be conceived as fixed, but constantly altered and enlarged by contributions, interpretations, challenges and denials of other human beings.

To become effective in teaching a way of life the teacher must completely and sincerely serve these ideas. For in school, as in prison, there is no teaching without demonstration.

4. *Philosophy* : translated from Latin by R. H. M. Ehnes. New York : Tudor Publishing Co., 1933, pp. 204-205.

5. Dummer, Ethel S., *Why I Think So : The Autobiography of an Hypothesis*. Chicago, 6140 Cottage Grove Ave : Clarke-McElroy, 1937.

# UTILIZATION OF LEISURE IN SCHOOLS—AN EXPERIMENT

P. S. NARAYANSWAMI

The School child is the victim of a sedate and dismal curriculum taught by half learned pedagogues while its extracurricular activities are too often bare and oppressively dreary. Consequently, the child's latent faculties rarely have scope to burgeon out fully and it becomes, before its time, the usual mechanical back. In the following account of an interesting experiment in Travancore Schools, Mr. Narayanswami shows how Middle School children do useful and creative work through simple arts and crafts during their leisure time.

Mr. Narayanswami is organizer of Vocational and Welfare Work in Schools, Travancore.

The following gives in a concise form the experiments tried, with considerable success, by the Travancore Education Department for the last 4 years in the Middle Schools of the State, (about 430 in number). The idea behind the scheme is to help the pupils realise the value of leisure time and spend such leisure hours with pleasure and profit to themselves, their schools and their families. Handicraft activities are only one part of the scheme which does not profess to make the children craftsmen able to earn their livelihood immediately after leaving school.

The idea of brightening up the lives of the school children, especially of the Middle Schools, was conceived in 1939 and instructions for drafting a practical scheme of extra-curricular activities were issued, with the intention of providing a useful and enjoyable time for the school children, enabling them to be trained in self-reliance and resourcefulness, helping them to cultivate good habits and a sense of responsibility so as to make them useful to themselves, to their homes, schools and immediate surroundings ; and of creating increased opportunities for them to get out more into the open, to build up their body and increase their powers of endurance. Thus, the activities were to be such as to develop the pupils' health, capacity, character, sportsmanship and good spirit, in short, to enliven their drab and monotonous school life by providing interesting and useful activities for spare time occupation. The

Vocational and Welfare Work Scheme was thus inaugurated in August 1939 under the auspices of the Travancore Educational Department.

Before putting up definite proposals it was arranged to conduct an extensive survey of the prevailing conditions in selected Taluks and then to formulate a scheme based upon such observations. A period of about 8 months was first spent in such a preliminary survey which clearly showed that the pupils in most of the Middle Schools were, more or less, mere machines moved along by their teachers in the same groove all the time, with no opportunities for self-expression or any display of originality. Nor was there anything to enliven their school life by way of recreation. Even the teachers had become so stereotyped and mechanical and their outlook was so narrow that the school work had become a mere monotonous routine which ended day after day, immediately after the school hours. There was no life in the school after school hours and the contact between the pupils and the teachers was practically non-existent. Activities which would make the schools brighter and the children happier and more active, and which would give them something to look forward to out of school hours were found entirely lacking. The object of the scheme was to remedy such defects.

To achieve this object a suitable scheme was drafted and the training of a number of teacher-leaders for under-

taking such work in schools was taken up. The Government very kindly sanctioned the necessary funds for such training courses. Thus nine Vocational and Welfare Work Leadership Training Courses were conducted in different parts of Trivandrum, Quilon and Thiruvalla Divisions during a period of the next four years for selected teachers of Middle Schools in seventeen Educational Districts of the above mentioned Divisions. We have today 326 school teachers trained entirely at Government expense for such work, in 220 Middle Schools (of which 111 are Departmental) in approximately half the area of the State. Each school has one or two such trained teachers according to the size and strength of the schools ; and on an average not less than 100 pupils for each school take part in these activities, the proportion of boys to girls being 2 : 1. Thus we have, on a modest estimate about 20,000 pupils pursuing such activities with enthusiasm and eagerness.

The training of the teacher-leaders usually lasts for about a fortnight and is a very thorough course. The camps are located and conducted on correct camping standards with about 40 trainees for each camp. The work in camp begins from 5-30 in the morning with an intensive course of physical training (indigenous and foreign systems), drill, marching, safety-first practice, traffic regulation practice, inspection of the whole camp area including the locations of the campers themselves and their kit, followed by 4 sessions of about one and a half hours each of instruction in various topics connected with the scheme, in practical work and demonstration in handicraft work, Air Raid Precaution items, first aid and games of various kinds and finishing off at night with a camp-fire sing-song at which entertainment items, folk-songs and folk-

dances are practised. The Camp being located near a school, invariably, the pupils of the school are enlisted whenever necessary for demonstrations and practice. The trainees are fed in camp and their actual travelling expenses are paid, so that there is practically no expense which they have to incur. They live in camp all the time with the camp officers and are subject to the camp rules and discipline.

The topics in which instruction and practice are given include the following :

1. A study of the Adolescent boy of (11 to 16 years.)
2. The application of the play-way of instruction.
3. Boy Leaders and the delegation of responsibility.
4. A volunteer service organisation in the school.
5. Planning of group, team and mass competitive games, contests and activities.
6. The place, value and organisation of hobbies and handicrafts in boy's education.
7. Recreative activities in a school.
8. Music and rhythm and balance of movement, musical drill and calisthenics.
9. Folksongs, folktales and folk-dances and how they serve to make the pupils proud of their mother-country and give them sources of true history of their country.
10. Entertainment aspect of a boy's life in school, making others happy, school theatricals, shows and concerts.
11. Personal hygiene and sanitation.
12. School gardening and practical gardening.



13. Decoration of the class room—drawing, painting, paper work, mounting and framing of pictures.
14. The school-museum—collection, classification and preservation of specimens.
15. Map-making and simple surveying.
16. Model-making and toys.
17. Excursions and camps and village visits.
18. A health programme for the school home and the community followed up by a demonstration in mass cleaning up of a locality.
19. First aid, simple sick-nursing and simple medical inspection of school children.
20. "Safety-first", Road and Home Safety, simple fire fighting, traffic regulation.
21. The Red Cross and Scouting.
22. Annual schoolday, sports and inter-school meets.
23. Field games both indigenous and foreign.
24. Indian systems of physical exercises such as Yogic postures, Suryanamaskara, the Kalary, etc.

At the end of the course, a summing up is made of the work done in camp along with the evolution of a programme for future sustained work. It has to be mentioned that equal stress is laid both on theory and practice in the manifold aspects of boy-education.

Thus it will be seen that the training given, gives a general bird's eye view of the scheme as a whole and provides

enough practical knowledge to the trainees for making a beginning as soon as they go back to their schools and also to keep it up for some time. The activities in the schools subsequent to the training are as follows.

*Physical* :—Setting up exercises (regulated and specially devised—duration 8 minutes—16 exercises). Games—mass, group and team—about 400 taught in camp and varied to form new ones. Yogic Asanas and indigenous exercises regularly practised. Music and drill—Easy tunes composed and correlated to physical movement calisthenics.

*Agriculture and Gardening* :—As an alternative to physical training and in some schools to handicraft work. Vegetable and flower gardening, cultivation of tapioca for food purposes. Sale proceeds serve as a nucleus for furtherance of occasional activities.

*Manual Labour* :—Levelling and preparation of school play grounds, patching up and repairing damaged portions of school fences, compound walls, steps, etc.,—carrying out minor repairs—providing of pathways—putting up temporary urinals, roofing, etc.

*Sanitation* :—Regular clearing up of class rooms and surroundings in all the schools regularly practised—proper disposal of rubbish—personal cleanliness and hygiene of the pupils attended to with great care.

*Folk Songs and Dances* :—About 50 folk songs have been collected and are being practised and sung. The national dances of the country are practised—Mass singing of sacred songs and hymns by the pupils has come into vogue and is very popular with the Hindu children.

*Dramatics* :—Short dialogues and interesting incidents from class text books

are being dramatised and the pupils act these improvising their own make-up, materials, equipment, etc.

*Service* :—4 to 10 pupils from each of the classes 4, 5, 6 and 7 are specially selected and formed into a school volunteer corps. These pupils are given special training and utilised for service in the School. Through these, other pupils are attracted. The training is being given in simple indigenous methods of First-Aid, sick-nursing, safety-first, marching in order, regulation of crowds in the school, service in school such as drinking water supply, noon feeding of poor children, helping strangers to the localities as guides, assisting in school functions, taking charge of smaller children in activities, etc. The experiment has been a success. These pupil-leaders could easily be formed into Scout or Cub units.

*Handicrafts* :—These are practised in spare time with very ordinary local tools and material that goes to waste. Articles of utility have been produced. Ingenuity and inventiveness have been shown and the articles have been very much appreciated. Crafts pursued are :—wood work, palmyrah leaf and fibre work, cocoanut wood and shell work, paste-board, paper pulp work, decoration and designing with cut paper patterns. Book-binding, pads, files, simple metal work, spinning, weaving, twine making, needle-work, embroidery, garment making, mending, darning, art work, painting, drawing, clay and paper pulp modelling, carving, toy making, leather work, pouches, purses, bags, etc.

Of these articles, the following have reached professional perfection and finish, and can be marketed easily. Buttons for coats, studs and links for shirts, brooches, scarf and saree pins, hair slides, penholders, pen racks, stationery cabinets, blotting pads, hand blotters, trays, paper

knives, artistic carved cups, paper weights, pin cushions, soap and unguent boxes, palmyrah mats and fibre belts, mathematical instruments, globes and relief maps, sand paper, pictorial calendars, masks and other "property" for shows, theatricals and dances, national history pictures.

Though much of the experiment is greatly successful and encouraging, it must be confessed that many difficulties have had to be overcome and want of initial capital is a tremendous handicap. Till now the work has been going on without any initial help from the Department, but taking into account the popularity of the scheme, the Department has for the last two years been able to give a small lump sum annual grant to each departmental school engaged in these activities, to help and encourage the pupils. The goods can find a ready market, now that such goods cannot come from foreign markets.

*Special features* :—The possibility of making essential school equipment such as map racks, black-board easels, simple benches and tables with bamboo and other easily available and workable material locally has been practically demonstrated. A simple but ingenuous button making machine, an effective hand-driven tapioca scraper which could be made power-driven, and a combined yarn twisting and winding machine have been devised. The possibility of utilising waste rags, waste paper and green leaves and grass for making handmade paper has been explored with considerable promise of success. The utilisation of hand-spun yarn to make thread for weaving and mending fishing nets and making twine has been successfully tackled. Experiments are being made for producing cheap unbreakable slates for school children. Glass paper (sand paper) of excellent quality, in

fine medium and rough grades has been successfully produced and is in daily use in some schools.

These are not the only activities. Relevant and useful literature has also been cultivated and a few books are now ready for publication. They are :

1. A book on Yoga Asanas and Suryanamaskar poses in Malayalam.
2. A hand book on cubbing for Primary and Middle School children in Malayalam.
3. A book on games in Malayalam.

And Literature under preparation includes :

1. A book on drawing, designing, decoration, sketching, simple painting. This will be a three years' course.
2. A hand book on indigenous First-Aid, sick and home nursing, treatment of simple and common ailments, sanitation, etc.
3. A practical book on school and home crafts.
4. A general hand book on vocational and welfare work, its principles, practice and methods.

Handicraft work, though only one of the activities involved in the scheme, has proved very attractive owing to its "interest arousing" nature. The natural tendency of the children to be doing something and achieving results quickly, is amply catered for by this particular item and real good work has been forthcoming. The Educational Stall in the Sri Chitra Exhibition 1943 had on display nearly

5,000 articles made by school pupils between the ages of 11 and 16 representing nearly 20 different crafts. The thousands of people who visited the Stall saw for themselves the potentialities and possibilities of such school crafts. They also learned the value of hand and eye training for children and how it makes the children realise the usefulness and serviceability of material which is thrown away as waste. The Stall clearly demonstrated that many of the common essential articles of daily use could be produced by school pupils at least for their own personal, school or home use, effecting a real saving at home. At the present moment when the war has stopped the supply of these articles it may be confidently stated that these school craft articles could be effective substitutes, provided the prominent people in each locality take real interest in developing these crafts on a modest commercial scale as village crafts, at least just enough to meet the requirements of the locality. This should be of real benefit to the State and might incidentally go a long way in solving to some extent, the ever-increasing problem of juvenile unemployment and waste of valuable human material. The Middle School pupil requires such training more than any other because, as it is, he has no definite future before him and he has not acquired the necessary skill and capacity to face the world after school and be of real help to his home and later on to society. It is gratifying to note that recently a few such trained Middle School pupils were preferred to many other applicants, as apprentices in a prominent factory producing war material in Quilon.

The subsequent work in school mentioned above is constantly supervised and guided by the officer who visits these schools regularly and periodically. Regular monthly reports from these schools are insisted upon, and appropriate sets of

nstructions and programmes of activities sent out. The follow-up work being most important, all efforts are devoted to securing continuity, system and regularity in the school activities. The scheme has become a common and popular feature in the schools. The multiplicity of interests provided enables as many children as possible to be attracted into it, so that every one of the pupils is sure to find something or other to interest him and keep him occupied during his spare time. Absolutely no compulsion is brought to bear on either the teachers or the pupils and this voluntariness has facilitated the co-operation of the Headmaster and the other members of the staff in these activities. Children who have to walk long distances and who have nothing to eat in the day time, and those who are physically below par are advisedly excluded from taking part. The leisure hours and half-an-hour after the closing of the school are periods of intense activities. The children look smarter, cleaner and healthier than before and the school building and premises are kept clean

and tidy with a neatly laid out small flower garden in many schools where there used to be none before ; thus the general atmosphere of these Middle Schools now is one of brightness and pleasantness. The good effects of such training have even reached the homes of the children and the parents have come to appreciate the value of extra-curricular activities.

Owing to the present abnormal and acute conditions of life, the extension of the scheme to the remaining two divisions of the State has not been as rapid as could be desired. And so all efforts are concentrated on the consolidation of the work done so far and in providing for the continuous and effective supervision of the work in the schools in the two divisions so far covered, and the scheme has gone on successfully in spite of the hard times and the good effects of these extra-curricular activities are being noticed more and more and widely appreciated. It is expected that the scheme will be extended to the remaining portions of the State, very soon.

## TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES.

### REPORT FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1944-45.

As Acting Director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, I have the honour to present the following brief Report for the academic year 1944-45.

My report is bound to be brief because this is the first time in the history of our Institute that the Director is called upon to present the report of only one year.

The most important event during the year under report was the invitation that Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, the Director of the Institute, received from the State Department of the United States through

Mr. Phillips, the Personal Representative of the President in India, to visit the States as a cultural representative from this country, and to study the progress of social welfare institutions and administration in America.

This invitation was not only a personal honour for Dr. Kumarappa but it was a recognition of the importance and utility of our Institute by a friendly foreign government. The Trustees readily gave him every facility to avail himself of this opportunity to further the interest of the Institution.

Our Director left by plane in the first week of December for a six months' extensive tour of the United States. Amongst the objects of his mission he not only included the representation of Indian culture to the people of the United States, but he had plans and ambitions to make this long journey useful to his countrymen by an intensive study of the latest methods adopted in a very progressive and free country for the happiness and welfare of its citizens.

He had made special plans to study the latest methods and curriculum of American institutions that provide trained leaders for the various fields of social service in America. He further wanted to visit social welfare institutions to study the set up, techniques used, and methods of placement and after-care. He was especially interested to see the treatment and care of delinquents, the nature of organization of social service departments in hospitals, and plans and programme of labour welfare.

Another object of Dr. Kumarappa's visit was to arrange for students of Social Service Administration in India to obtain admission in American Universities for advanced training and specialisation. Social problems in this country are vast and complex, and a large, highly trained, experienced and efficient personnel will be required if any far-reaching programme of social welfare is to be carried out in the near future. It is not possible for this country to spend very large sums over training of larger numbers of students. Without being too optimistic, I am glad to state that Dr. Kumarappa has already succeeded in making some arrangements for sending some of our past students for further training in American Institutions and Schools of Social Work. His itinerary was planned by the Division

of Cultural Cooperation of the U. S. Department of State on the basis of a scheme he had worked out.

Dr. Kumarappa attended the Annual Conference of the American Associations of Schools of Social Work. This Conference provided him an opportunity to establish contacts with important institutions and American social scientists.

We are looking forward to our Director's return to India in the beginning of the next term, and we hope that by the time he arrives the war, at least in the West, comes to an end, and some reasonable solution is found to the unfortunate conditions that now exist in this country. It is only in such settled conditions that Institutions like ours can play their full part, and make distinct contributions towards the betterment of the lives of the masses and help the handicapped and the maladjusted to come into their own.

On account of the absence of Dr. Kumarappa, the Faculty had to work with its strength depleted, and the situation was further worsened by the unfortunate illness of Mr. Mookerjee, our Lecturer in Psychology. These difficulties, however, were easily overcome, as the Government of Bombay kindly permitted Dr. Miss Cama, the Magistrate of the Juvenile Court, who was formerly on our staff, to give our students the course on Juvenile Delinquency. As this was the Final Term of the Senior Class, several special courses were given by our Hon. Lecturers. Mrs. Lam lectured on "Elements of Law for Social Workers", Dr. Halder of the Dadar School for the Blind lectured on the "Problems of the Handicapped" and Dr. Mhaskar gave a special course on "Elements of Medical Knowledge for Social Workers."

As it was stated at the last Convocation, the Trustees of the Institute had

decided, on account of the increasing demand for trained social workers, to admit new students every year instead of our previous practice of admitting a new group of students at the end of two years when the old students completed their course and received their Diplomas. As this was in the nature of a change and an experiment, only a small number of students was admitted. Besides, the critical war situation that existed in the beginning of 1943 prevented some candidates who were admitted to the Institute, and who belonged to distant places, especially Bengal and Colombo, from coming to Bombay at the last moment. Therefore, the number of students who are receiving their Diplomas today is smaller than usual.

The political and war situation in the beginning of 1944 improved considerably, and this year we have the largest number of students on our roll. The Junior Class consists of 14 men students and 13 women students whose geographical distribution is as follows :—Ahmedabad-1, Belgaum-1, Bombay-5, Burma-3, Ceylon-1, Cochin-5, Delhi-2, Hyderabad, Dn.-2, Indore-1, Junagadh-1, Madras-1, Mangalore 1, Punjab-2, Ujjain-1, Travancore-2.

A feature of the new batch of students is that it contains for the first time students who have been deputed to take their training by the Government of the Punjab, the Government of Burma, now at Simla, and the Education Department of the Hyderabad State. The States of Travancore and Cochin have also given scholarships to their State subjects to enable them to take their training in our Institute.

I have referred to the increasing demand for social workers. Not only are larger numbers required for various social services that are in existence at present, but new fields are gradually being

opened up as both the Government and the public are realising the need of extensive and well-manned social services.

Before leaving for America, Dr. Kumarappa was in correspondence with certain officials for the introduction of Hospital Social Service in India. The Commission of Medical Experts from Britain and America favourably discussed the proposal during the several hours they spent in our Institute. The proposal was further supported by Lt.-General John Grant, and Brigadier Reeves who visited our Institute in company with the Surgeon General to the Government of Bombay. Accordingly, a beginning has been made, and final proposals are before the Surgeon General of Bombay to create a Department of Hospital Social Service in one of Bombay's leading public hospitals. It is likely that the Department will function under a trained Almoner, and students of our Institute will be given an opportunity to obtain practical experience in the same hospital.

During the war, Indian Industries have grown, and with this growth has come the realisation of the need for extensive and scientific Labour Welfare Programmes. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments are giving considerable attention to this important branch of social service. In the interest of labour in general, and of the Institute in particular, it was decided to undertake the organization of available data on labour welfare on an All-India scale. This would serve the purpose of supplying our students with a comprehensive knowledge of facts and techniques of welfare work carried on in different parts of our country, and also enable us to relate knowledge to the distinctive problems of different regions. Finally, it is proposed to embody the findings of this research in an authoritative book on Labour Welfare.

In order to collect the relevant material, Dr. Moorthy, a member of our staff, undertook a tour round the important industrial regions during the last summer vacation. He visited the industrial centres of Jamshedpur, Calcutta, Delhi, Cawnpore, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Bangalore, Madras, Coimbatore, Cochin, Madras, and Bombay. In all these places he contacted labour welfare organizations and obtained first hand information of the technique of labour welfare in India.

Our Institute attaches very great importance to Research work. The Bureau of Research and Publications, which was specially created for this purpose in 1942, has continued to increase its activities. In spite of the difficulties created by the Paper Control Order, the Indian Journal of Social Work has continued to grow and win the appreciation of larger and larger numbers. Its extensive circulation all over British India and in almost all the important Indian States is a matter for pride for the Institute. Leading experts on various social problems from all over the country are coming forward to contribute to its pages.

In the wake of "Social Services in Wartime" which was published last year and a reference to which was made in the last year's report, comes our new book, "Our Beggar Problem : How to tackle it." The book, which is an exhaustive survey of the beggar problem by various experts, will be placed on the market next month by the Padma Publications.

Further the staff of the Institute have undertaken the task of editing and contributing the Social Welfare Section of "Fifteen Years Ahead" which is being published by a well known industrialist on the subject of National Planning.

The first Research Scholarship of the Institute was awarded last year to Dr. Miss G. R. Banerjee. She continued the survey of the "Rescue Homes for Women in India" and to make a thorough study of the problem, she visited important Rescue Homes all over India. Travelling the year round, she covered 61 cities. In completing her work, she has presented a rather gloomy picture of the actual conditions. I will give only one example to show how utterly neglected is the treatment of this major social problem. Dr. Miss Banerjee was discussing the need of trained leadership for a particular Rescue Home with an important member of the Home's Committee. The Committee member, enthusiastically supported the proposition and said that her Committee would even agree to pay Rs. 30/- a month if a trained social worker could be obtained for that Home. In 28 institutions that Dr. Banerjee visited, the Superintendents were paid less than Rs. 50/- a month and in eight of them less than Rs. 20/- per month. It can well be imagined what must be the methodology and efficiency of institutions where the standard of leadership is so low.

The Faculty has decided to recommend to the Trustees the award of two Research Scholarships in 1945-46 to Miss S. F. Mehta and Mr. M. S. Gore. Both these students have undertaken an important Research on the "Life and Work of Graduate Secondary School Teachers in Bombay". Miss Mehta has studied the Case Records of women teachers whilst Mr. Gore has surveyed the problem of men teachers. Both the scholars will continue their research and obtain further information from about 300 cases. The results of the Research will be published in due course by the Bureau of Research and publications.

Very useful research work on important problems was carried out by the students who will receive their Diplomas today, and equally important are the studies undertaken by the Junior Students.

Mr. Nagaraj and Mrs. Joshi who obtained their Diploma of Social Service in 1942 and 1944 respectively, were appointed Research Assistants of the Bombay Rotary Club to investigate into the problems of the slum area of Dharavi, once a fishing village, and now an area in the north of Bombay city, occupied by the leather and tanning industries. The work has been completed, and we hope its publication will help to awaken the conscience of the Bombay Municipality to its duties and responsibilities towards the citizens of a section of the premier city of India.

Dr. Kumarappa in his last report had referred to the difficulties in finding suitable field work facilities for our students. I am glad to report that these difficulties are gradually overcome. The Nagpada Neighbourhood House and the Sir Ratan Tata Welfare Centres are now providing excellent opportunities for the organization and management of a large number of activities by our students. The activities include Nursery Schools, Play Centres, Health Visiting, Family Case Work, Women's Welfare, Youth Welfare, Adult Education Classes, etc. Besides, the Child Guidance Clinic, the Children's Aid Society, the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, the Government Labour Welfare Department, the Welfare Department of the Municipal Corporation, and the Welfare Departments, of several Textile Mills continued to give their co-operation to give practical experience to our students. The G. T. Hospital will, we hope, be an important addition next term, when our students will obtain

practical experience in Hospital Social Service.

Turning to the Child Guidance Clinic, it has continued to give clinical service to children suffering from psychiatric disorders, and referred by a number of social agencies including the Juvenile Court and the J. J. Group of Hospitals. Increasing use is made of the Clinic also by individual physicians and by parents directly, and there has been increasing interest taken by educationists, social workers and others, as gauged by the number of visitors each month.

In regard to the educational activities of the Clinic, these have been extended to include instruction in Child Psychiatry and Child Guidance to physicians specialising in Pediatrics and post-graduate students studying for the Diploma in Pediatrics of the Bombay University, and for the Diploma in Child Health of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. The Clinic has continued to act as a training centre for field work for students of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, for probation officers, teachers and others interested in the field. The types of problems referred to the Clinic along with the illustrative cases during 1944-45 are given in the appendix.

We have been very fortunate in having had the honorary and voluntary services of Miss S. K. Powvala and our thanks are due to her and to Dr. George Coelho, M.B., M.R.C.P., (Lond.), Hon. Pediatricist, B. J. Hospital for Children, and to Dr. R. V. Sanzgiri, M.R.C.P. (Edin.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.R.P.S., Hon. Pediatricist, The Jerbai Wadia Hospital for Children, who very kindly gave freely of their time and services as Hon. Consulting Pediatricists whenever children were referred to them for expert pediatric guidance.

B. H. MEHTA,  
Acting Director.



## CLASS OF 1945-47

1. Ahmed, F. M.  
B.A. (Hons.), Nagpur University,  
1945, Amraoti, C.P.
  2. Akhtar, A. U.  
B.A., Punjab University, 1940,  
Lahore, Punjab.
  3. Anklesaria, Miss R. P.  
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University,  
1945, Bombay.
  4. Debara, Mrs. A. K.  
M.A., Bombay University,  
1943, Bombay.
  5. Jose, M. T.  
B.A., Madras University, 1943,  
Chalakudi, Cochin.
  6. Kadir, Abdul  
B.A., Madras University, 1944,  
Ernakulam, Cochin.
  7. Kutar, Miss M. J.  
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University,  
1945, Navsari, Bombay.
  8. Mathew, C. T.  
B.A., Madras University, 1944,  
Mattom, Cochin.
  9. Mathur, S. K.  
B.A., Allahabad University,  
1945, Moradabad, U. P.
  10. Nair, P. Krishnan  
B.A. (Hons.), Travancore  
University, 1943, Trivandrum,  
Travancore.
  11. PanA'kal, J. A.  
B.A., Madras University, 1945,  
Ernakulam, Cochin.
  12. Pillay, K. S.  
B.Sc., Bombay University, 1945,  
Kayamkulam, Travancore.
  13. Ranade, S. N.  
B.A., Allahabad University,  
1943, M.A., Allahabad University,  
1945, Muzaffarnagar, U.P.
  14. Randeria, K. N.  
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University,  
1945, Bombay.
  15. Rochlani, Miss S. P.  
B.A. Punjab University, 1944,  
B.T., Punjab University, 1945,  
Shikarpur, Sind.
  16. Sathe, H. V.  
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University,  
1945, Bombay.
  17. Sen, S. R.  
B.Sc. (Hons.), Calcutta University,  
1945, Calcutta, Bengal.
  18. Shembavnekar, B. K.  
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University,  
1942, Bombay.
  19. Shroff, B. D.  
B.Sc., Bombay University, 1944,  
Bombay.
  20. Gopalakrishna Rao, Tadpatri  
B.A. (Hons.), Andhra University,  
1945, Anantapur, Madras.
  21. Tilve, Miss P. G.  
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University,  
1944, B.T., Bombay University,  
1945, Belgaum, Bombay.
  22. Vyas, Miss I. C.  
B.A., Bombay University, 1945,  
Bombay.
  23. Yashovardhan, S. B.A.,  
Allahabad University, 1943,  
Benares, U. P.
  24. Yousuf, K. B.A.,  
Osmania University, 1943,  
Hyderabad, Deccan.
- Non-Diploma Students :**
25. Fernando, Cyril,  
Chilaw, Ceylon.
  26. Nanji, Miss M. A.  
Bombay.

*Dr. J. M. Kumarappa.*—We are glad to announce that Dr. J. M. Kumarappa returned by air to India on the 17th June from the U. S. A., and resumed his office as Director of the Tata Institute. An account of his tour in the U.S.A., was published in the previous issue of the Journal. Since his return he has given press conferences, addressed meetings and written articles about his visit. Elsewhere is given an account of his impressions of the U.S.A., as a social thinker and worker sees it.

While in America, Dr. Kumarappa surveyed the possibilities of establishing permanent agencies for scientific social contact between India and the U.S.A.; for it is his cherished idea that such contact regularly brought about through institutions in India and the U.S.A., will lead to the positive enrichment of the culture of both countries—one, rich in spiritual heritage and the other, abundant in scientific equipment, one an ancient nation with complex social problems and the other a new world with a passion for experiment and research. Dr. Kumarappa's success in his mission will depend on the co-operation, sympathy and response of the States and people of the U.S.A., as well as of India. We shall watch with interest the progress of his efforts in this direction. We are glad to state that as a result of his efforts, Fellowships to the extent of Rs. 75,000/- have been secured in the U.S.A., for Indian scholars. Of the candidates for whom Fellowships have been secured, five are from the Tata Institute—an amount of about Rs. 35,000/- going to these alone. The names of the scholars are given below :—

#### From the Tata Institute :

1. Dr. M. Vasudeva Moorthy, Ph.D., Member of the Staff, to specialise in Industrial Rela-

tions and Labour Economics at the University of Chicago (Two Years).

2. Dr. Miss Gouri Rani Bannerjee, M.A., D. Phil., to specialise in Medical Social Work at the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago (Two Years).
3. Mr. D. V. Kulkarni, M.A., Dip. S.S.A., who is at present Superintendent of the Yeravda Industrial School, to specialise in Criminology and Penal Administration at the New York School of Social Work of the Columbia University.
4. Mr. John Barnabas, B.A., Dip. S.S.A., who is the General Secretary of the Social Service League in Lucknow, to specialise in Sociology and Social Institutions at the Columbia University.
5. Mrs. Indira Renu, B.A., B.T., Dip. S.S.A., who is at present Psychiatric Social Worker of our Child Guidance Clinic, to do advanced work in Child Guidance at the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic and Pennsylvania School of Social Work of the University of Pennsylvania.

#### Outsiders :

1. Mr. S. Ramanathan, B.A., to specialise in Public Welfare Administration at the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago.
2. Dr. M. Asirvatham, M.B.B.S., who is a Lecturer at the Vellore Medical College in Pathology,

to go for Advanced Study in Pathology at the Medical School of the University of Chicago, in view of the plans for the expansion of the Vellore Medical College.

3. Miss A. K. Minakshi, M.A., Research Scholar in Child Psychology at the University of Madras, to specialise in Child Development at the Child Welfare Research Station of the State University of Iowa.
4. Miss Sarojini Munim, M.B.B.S., to specialise in Midwifery and Gynaecology at the University Hospital Medical School of the University of Iowa.

These candidates have already made necessary preparations for their journey

and they are expected to leave India for America in December next. It may be mentioned that the securing of Fellowships to these is in part fulfilment of Dr. Kumarappa's scheme to expand the Tata Institute. While thus the visit of Dr. Kumarappa to the U. S. A., has resulted in concrete financial benefit to the Institute in particular and the country in general, the prospect and possibility it has opened up for training our young men and women and for keeping and continuing the contact and goodwill with the U. S. A., constitutes a cultural benefit of a more lasting character. We thank Dr. Kumarappa for his unremitting devotion to our Institute which he is so considerably and tirelessly helping to build up. We extend our welcome to him and wish him a fruitful continuance of his career.

M. V. M.

## NEWS AND NOTES

### WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM AMERICA

Ever since my return to India a few weeks back after my extensive tour of the United States as guest of the Cultural Division of the Department of State, I have been asked for information regarding my impressions. To begin with I must express my appreciation of the honour bestowed on me by the American Government, as I was the first Indian Educationist to be so invited, and also to express my deep gratitude for their hospitality and the necessary facilities provided by the State to carry out my mission successfully. Here, I should also like to take the opportunity of stating that my original plan was first approved by the Tatas who very generously decided to depute me on this mission. But soon after their decision, this unique invitation from the American Government was received.

My main purpose in going to America as guest of the United States Government was to find ways and means by which better cultural co-operation could be established between the U. S. A., and our country, I shall confine myself here to things that we can well learn from America, and her experience in the promotion of national welfare and efficiency.

The first impression one receives on landing in New York is the heterogeneous character of the population. In many ways America resembles our country in the various languages spoken by people from different parts of the world who represent various cultural groups. But what is most amazing is that despite these cultural and linguistic differences, the U. S. A., through various educational

devices known as "Americanisation"—makes a homogeneous nation out of this heterogeneous mixture.

*Irreconcilable Groups.*—Even at this, there are five prominent racial and religious groups namely, the Negro, the Jew, the Protestant, the Catholic and the Nissi—the last being the most recent. The Nissis represent the second generation Japanese, born and bred in the United States and who are American citizens. They have now become racially conscious though Americans, because of the persecution meted out to them by the White Americans after Pearl Harbour. This was done by the latter because of the fear that the Nissis would be loyal to their former motherland. Though there are these five irreconcilable groups within the nation, yet there is no agitation for special privileges; the political parties are only divided as Democrats and Republicans which are the two main parties, and therefore the only ones worth mentioning.

Since an essential aspect of its basic creed is that the American nation is one and indivisible, the United States Government does not tolerate any such nonsense as is all-too-prevalent in our national life. In this particular field we have much to learn from our Yankee friends across the seas. The educational technique and other devices utilized by them for the promotion of national solidarity and co-operation are methods which could well be adapted to India and made a part of the post-war country-wide system of education for the furtherance of national unity and training in the democratic way of life.

*Technical Education.*—Another phase of American life which impresses one is the application of science to the production of industrial goods and agricultural implements and products. It is interesting to note how, in the United

States, the creative activity of the people seems to express itself mainly in technological achievements, whereas the older nations of the world like the Indians, Chinese, the Europeans express their creative activity in Art, Music, Literature and Philosophy. In my opinion this accounts for America's amazing contributions to modern mechanical appliances and engineering skill. Most of the American Institutes of Technology have attained high standard during the past few years owing to the war situation. Technological science has so advanced that industrial plants in the post-war period, I am told, would be radically different from the ones that they have had hitherto, and that they would be producing a new variety of articles not available in the market before.

Most of the American students get such good practical training that they do not think of entering any profession which is non-creative and non-productive. A large number of science graduates are employed in industrial, technical, and other scientific research—to benefit mankind. This is in striking contrast to the attitude and mentality of our students who usually think in terms of jobs.

Most American professors express their astonishment at the degree-mindedness of students from India. However, our students are not entirely to be blamed for this attitude, as the main objective of our educational system was to train them to help in the alien administration of our country. The university degree has thus come to be recognised as "a passport for a job." Our effort now should be to break this common mental attitude of our students and instil in them the spirit of enterprise and a desire to enter business life rather than to seek security in Government service.

*How They Spend Their Money.*—It is not uncommon to hear non-Americans say that Americans are dollar chasers. It is undoubtedly true that Americans make money, and make it fast. No country today is as wealthy as America, and yet there is no country which so generously parts with its money for philanthropic purposes. Whether it is China which suffers from famine and lack of sufficient medical supplies, or Italy from the devastating effects of an earthquake, or India from cloth and food famine, it is America from where relief so generously pours in. Making money to the American is an enjoyable sport, he spends it as rapidly as he makes it.

*Scientific Philanthropy.*—Hundreds of foundations are established by the wealthy Americans for the promotion of human welfare, and the advancement of human knowledge. The most prominent one is the Rockefeller Foundation. There are many others, which, though not international in their grants, are nevertheless concerned with the control of diseases, promotion of social and scientific research and the development of experimental projects, etc.

One is impressed not only with the number, size and purposes of these foundations but also with the efficient manner in which they are administered. Indiscriminate charity is something that is altogether outmoded in the U. S. A., and is replaced by scientific philanthropy. Millions of dollars are thus given away for increasing human happiness and well-being. Scientific philanthropy is one thing of which India is very badly in need.

While there are some well-endowed TRUSTS in India formed for worthy ends, one wishes that such efficient methods of administration could be introduced in their management. Many of our

wealthy men can well learn from the nature and organization of American Foundations how to use their riches in the interest of the public. Among our noted Philanthropists the Tatas deserve special mention for the efficient manner in which their charities are now organized, and the variety of causes to which they generously give their support.

*State Social Services.*—While we are still in the mediaeval stage in meeting our social problems through private social agencies and indiscriminate charity (both of which are apt to function in an irregular and haphazard manner), America has reached the stage of tackling these problems through State Social services. The care of the physically handicapped and their rehabilitation ; the education and training of the mentally deficient ; and homes for delinquent boys and girls are all undertaken by the Government, and the institutions are maintained out of public funds. Large sums of money are thus made available for the care of the underprivileged and maladjusted. The personnel of these institutions are highly qualified and specially trained for their jobs.

For instance, while there is hardly one special institution for the feeble-minded in the whole of India run by our Government, there are many such institutions maintained by several of the forty-eight states which comprise the American Union. At Wrentham, for instance, the State of Massachusetts runs a home which has been put up at a cost of five-and-a-half million dollars. The Home has also a Research Department with highly qualified medical men on the staff who are carrying on research into the causes of mental deficiency. In addition to such homes for mentally deficient youth, there are numerous mental hospitals for adults with psychologists and psychiatrists and

other specialists attached to each. In our country, most of the mental hospitals are inadequately staffed and poorly managed.

There seems to be no limit to the amount of money the American Government spends in providing proper comfort, good treatment, and various kinds of entertainment for the happiness of these unfortunates. It is time that India stirred herself to reorganise her institutions in a more efficient but humane manner.

*Need for Public Welfare Department.*—It was very inspiring to see a special department as part of the Government in most States to administer the special funds provided for public welfare and social security, as well as, to supervise the work of and give guidance to the various social service agencies. But unfortunately in India while we have Departments of Public Health, and Public Instruction, we do not have a Public Welfare Department for increasing the efficiency of the work of the private social service agencies which are given grants-in-aid; nor to co-ordinate the various social services of the province, and to develop new ones to meet special problems as they arise. In the post-war period it is very necessary to give serious consideration to the establishment of such Departments in every province in our country, considering social service as an essential part of the function of the Government, instead of leaving them to the whims and fancies of private bodies.

*Towards Better Understanding.*—Cultural exchange is always a two-way process. While we have much to learn from the United States, there is much for the United States to learn from India and her ancient culture. In the hustle and bustle of her life, America needs to learn something of the repose and calm which is an essential feature of Indian life. And American educational institu-

tions which provide so much knowledge to their youth in every field of human endeavour need to learn that it is not knowledge only which counts but, even more, wisdom which is derived from the integration of this knowledge with proper emphasis on spiritual values which are, at the present time, sadly ignored on account of the all-too-common tendency to emphasise material values.

It was gratifying to note the interest American scholars manifest in coming out to India to study the different aspects of our culture—philosophy, comparative religions, classical Indian languages, archaeology, sociology, and ancient Indian political science. In a few American universities they have already introduced courses on Indian culture. India has much to teach our American and European friends in these directions. Similarly, our scholars should go to the United States to learn what America has to offer as her distinctive achievements.

All those who are responsible either for sending students to America or giving them necessary guidance should emphasize the need for undergoing practical training and returning to India with the determination to undertake independent enterprise rather than to go there to acquire degrees, and return seeking either Government or teaching jobs.

The present world war has taught us the evils of isolation, national greed, and international non-co-operation, and all thinking people the world over must endeavour to bring about better understanding between nations through cultural understanding and appreciation, and to reorganize the economic system on a basis of international co-operation rather than national competition in the interest of international goodwill and happiness of mankind.

J. M. KUMARAPPA.

## BAREILLY JUVENILE JAIL, A SUMMARY OF CORRECTIONAL AND REHABILITATIONAL WORK, 1939-44.

In the Juvenile Jail, there are no direct admissions from the courts. Inmates are received on transfer from other Jails. Admission is limited to the boys who are convicted for the first time. The sentence varies from one year to life; and the age from 15 to 19 and the maximum age for retention is 23. The offences for which boys are committed are : violence of all grades from ordinary fights to murder ; crime of acquisition varying from petty thefts to dacoity with fire arms ; and sex offences. The population of the Jail is about 180.

*I. Correctional Aspect.*—Briefly the correctional aspect consists of giving affection to the inmate and making him feel at home. In all our activities like games, scouting, work and studies, we use no force and no compulsion. We wait till the desire appears from within and, if it does not, say for a week or ten days, we try to create the desire.

Correctional programme falls under two headings :—(a) General and (b) Individual. Failures from general programme are taken in hand individually and failures from general individual treatment are brought up for psychotherapy.

Out of 241 boys, 26 boys showed no desire to take part in games and eventually they took part through our individual training programme.

With regard to work, out of 241, 14 developed habit of work through our training programme and one remained workshy. (Eventually habit of work was created through psychotherapy. He is working as a tailor in an Army Clothing Factory).

Studies :—Out of 241, 26 boys took a little effort but in case of another lot of 37 boys, interest was created through our individual correctional programme. One was declared uneducable.

We avoid frustration and, if there has to be frustration, we try to resolve the conflict and continue our efforts till we are satisfied that the boys bear no ill will. The boy is made to realise that the institution is run for his benefit and the members of the staff are there for help and assistance he requires. If he has any worry about domestic affairs, we let him write and receive special letters. Should he want our help, we have no hesitation in writing to the District Authorities in his behalf.

Deserving and desirous boys are allowed to go home on leave. 67 boys have so far availed of the privilege. They all returned punctually.

Life starts at 5 in the morning and finishing at 8-30 at night. Boys are kept occupied during this time. They get no time for idling or idle talk. It has enabled us to harness the energy that was being wasted in phantasy. As a result factory people find our boys better workers than outside labour. There is no ill effect on health. Out of 241 boys, only 2 boys showed loss in weight of more than 5 lbs. As an additional aid to keep the time and mind occupied, we give every encouragement to take advantage of the facilities offered by Hobby Class. We even give money for the purchase of material :—Rs. 224/8/- in 1943 and Rs. 200/- in 1944. The number of boys

who have taken advantage of the Hobby Class is :—

19 in 1941,  
34 in 1942,  
51 in 1943,  
52 in 1944.

Careful eye is kept as to whether there are any breaches of jail rules or delinquencies. In case there is any, the boy is taken in hand. If the offence is frequent, or, if it is serious, and if punishment has to be given, (incidentally it is unthinkable for us to give corporal punishment) we see that he is satisfied that punishment was justifiable and he harbours no ill will.

Even our Sunday is fully occupied with talks on useful subjects like hygiene, general uplift, general information, games and work in Hobby Class. We have religious teachers but they are not allowed to show superiority of one religion over another. They talk on good points common to all religions.

II. *Rehabilitation.*— Rehabilitation resolves into six separate headings :—

(A) *Employment in outside factories* :— We have the co-operation of three factories and institutions. 28 boys used to go out every day. This year the number is increased to 44. The wages they earn are credited to their account after deducting contributions for the "Juvenile Jail Boys Fund." (Rs. 2/14/6 used to be deducted from the wages for food after the boy had saved Rs. 50. It is stopped from 1st November 1944. Now the deductions go to the "Juvenile Jail Boys' Fund") Rs. 5 from those who earn Rs. 20 or above, Rs. 3 from those who earn between Rs. 15 and Rs. 20 and Rs. 2 from those who earn between Rs. 12 and Rs. 15. When the boy has saved Rs. 150 and is not due for release, we take him in and give chance to another deserving boy.

241 boys have had the opportunity of extramural work from the middle of 1939 to the end of 1944. Total earnings amount to Rs. 23,500. There was one escape. The boys go to the factories by themselves and return by themselves. They sleep at night in the jail.

Method of selection for outside factory work may be of interest. We write a case history of each boy. This gives us an insight into the mental makeup and gives us an indication as to what aspect and to what extent we should apply individual attention.

1. There is no history of frequent lying, stealing or truancy.
2. There is no history of frequent emotional outbursts in the shape of quarrels or violence.
3. He is not a case of marked mental deficiency.
4. He is not a shut-in personality; we see that from his social dealings.
5. He is not an inadequate personality and is likely to be easily led away.
6. He has interest in games and has the team spirit, and submits to rules and orders and there is consequent awakening of social sense.
7. He has the habit of work. There is no point in selecting a boy who is workshy. Workshyness means he is either sick of body or of mind or both. The root cause has to be found out and he has to be cured before we decide on his selection for factory work.



8. Preference is given to those boys who are badly off and need work and financial help on release.
9. After enquiring of each boy whether he is desirous of working in the factory the final selection is made.
10. The boys are brought up and a short talk on the following lines is given to them :—

“ This is a new experiment not only for this institution but for the province and possibly for the whole country. All those who are interested in the social welfare of the youngsters who are unfortunate enough to come under the attention of the Police will look forward to seeing the results of this experiment. It is up to you to see that the experiment is a success and deserves being taken up at other places.”—

(B) Training in trade or profession inside the jail—

44 boys have the opportunity of earning wages out of a total population which is round about 180. In order to enable other boys to have profession or trade, we systematised the training in the outlets we have in the jail and fixed 2 years as qualifying period. After a boy passes the test and is declared qualified, he is allowed to do private work and the money he realizes is credited to his account. We give them money for the purchase of raw material in the beginning. In 1943 and 1944 we gave Rs. 156 to 35 boys.

Last year was the first year when boys started getting qualified. 32 boys qualified during 1943-44. (In addition 3 boys whose sentence was not long enough to enable them to qualify were, as a special case, allowed to take up private work.)

The total earnings of 35 boys up to the end of 31st December 1944 came to Rs. 1,451.

Total earnings of 276 boys (A and B) come to roughly Rs. 24,951.

We have the following outlets—tailoring, shoe making, colth weaving, durries, carpets, carpentry, toy making, masonry, gardening, poultry, sericulture, printing press and band.

(C) Help from Government Grant in 1943-44, (Last year, was the first year, a certain amount was put at our disposal for the purpose).

(a) As mentioned above	
Rs. 156 were given to 35 inmates to purchase raw material and Rs. 424/8/- to 102 inmates to buy material for the Hobby Class	...
	... Total Rs. 580/8/-

(b) Help given to boys whether qualified or not and who required money to get fixed in life at the time of release Rs. 130 to 3 boys in 1943 and Rs. 500 to 17 boys in 1944	...
	... Total Rs. 630/0/-

Grand Total ...	Rs. 1,210/8/-
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(D) help from the “ Juvenile Jail Boys’ Fund ”—Rs. 85/4/- to boys for travelling expenses of “ Home Leave,” to buy material for the Hobby Class and to a few boys as help on release.

From the 1st November 1944, deduction for food was stopped. (We used to deduct Rs. 2-14-6 a month from the wages of the boys after they had saved Rs. 50. We have started systematic contribution to the Fund from the earnings as given under (A).

The Fund is managed by a committee of 6 boys—3 from outside factory and 3 from inside. They decide as to who should get help and the amount.

During the month of November and December one boy was given Rs. 100 to purchase a plot of land for grazing.

The balance in the Fund on 31st December is Rs. 305.

The underlying idea is to create a desire amongst the boys to help each other and not to always depend on outside help.

Contributions from the wages are expected to be round about Rs. 150 a month.

From 1945 onward, we expect the Fund to play a prominent part in our Rehabilitation Programme.

(E) Securing employment after release—We found employment for 3 boys in 1943 and 8 boys in 1944, i.e., a total of 11 boys.

(F) There is no hesitation in taking advantage of educational facilities available in the locality. If we find the boy will be able to finish the standard of education (matric) which will enable him to earn his livelihood on release, or if he is unable to finish while he is under our care, he shows desire and is in a position to continue studies after release, we make arrangements with the local schools for admission where the boy goes on his own and returns on his own after the daily classes are over. Four boys have been given the opportunity—one was released on appeal. Three boys are still attending the school—one is in 9th class and the other two in 7th. One of these three has life sentence. Jail defrays all the school expenses.

Follow up work—

(a) 187 boys have been released during this period from the outside factories. We have received reports from the Dist. Authorities about 154 boys. 7 are in the hands of law and 147 are fixed in life and are leading the life of law abiding citizens.

(b) Up to the last year our follow-up work was limited to the boys released from the outside factories. This year we started getting reports from the District Authorities concerned about the boys released from inside the jail as well. 59 boys were released in 1944. We have received reports about 31. All these 31 boys are leading the life of law abiding citizens.

241 boys have had the opportunity of working in the outside factories, 4 boys have been allowed to attend the local school, 67 boys have been allowed "Home leave"—16 of them were from inside the jail. i.e., a total of 261 have been allowed to go out of the jail on their own without any escort. Experiment covers a period of 5 years and a half. There was one escape.

47 boys go out every day—44 to the factories and 3 to the local school. One factory is almost 4 miles from the jail and the boys have to pass through the town.

The length of sentence in case of boys allowed out varies from one year to life sentence and the average sentence comes to 3 years 6 months.

The minimum unexpired part of the sentence when the boys were allowed

out is 6 months, the maximum 16 years 6 months and the average comes to 2 years 1 month.

*A few Observations of Interest.—*

1. (a) Disinvestment of hostility towards the institution as seen by the absence of escapes both from inside the jail and from the boys who work in the outside factories. During the last 6 years there was no escape from inside and there was only one escape from out of 261 boys who had the opportunity of employment in outside factories or permission to go home on leave.

(b) Reduction in the manifestation of hostility against the society :—

Out of 154 reports that we received from District Authorities only 7 are in the hands of the law.

About inside boys, 31 reports are received so far. They are all fixed in life.

2. Considerable reduction in the number of "Sex deviates." Our general approach is long working hours which keeps the mind occupied, and gives them no time for idling or idle talk. Boys are not given authority over the other boys except on the play ground. All the authority is vested in the paid staff.

3. Freedom from anxiety neurosis. No case since 1940.

4. Availability of energy that was being wasted in phantasy and conflict for useful work :—desire for work, increase in output and capacity.

5. Considerable reduction in prison offences.

6. Awakening of the group sense:—A few of the boys have been taken in from factories for misbehaviour but it is the other boys of the team themselves who complained and requested that they should be taken in as they are not credit to the team.

7. Our educational system, like every activity, is voluntary and yet every boy attends the school regularly for two hours a day, except a few who are uneducable because of the intellectual deficiency. 4th class examination, which are carried out by the Inspectors of the Education Department, shows 95.5% of our boys got through against 83% of the outside schools of the district.

85% of our admissions are illiterate and most of the remaining 15% attended school for a few months to a year or two.

Out of every 100 boys who start study in outside schools 75 give up before they reach 4th class, both in this province and in the rest of the country. Some of them are uneducable, some are kept back to help parents in the house or fields. In some cases there may be failure of the mother to prepare the child for detachment. But in case of a large number it is a manifestation of resentment against the inconsiderate, harsh and bad treatment by the parents and the teachers.

In our case they are all keen and interested in their studies, except a few who are uneducable. We have the confidence and affection of our boys.

8. Incapacity to adjust to town conditions and unconscious desire to go back to the early setting of their childhood. Although most of the released boys who work in the factories would have got employment, only a few availed of the offer and a number of them too left in order to get back to their own village.

A. H. SHAIKH.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

**Child Development and Guidance in Rural Schools.** By RUTH STRAND AND LATHAM HATCHER. Harper & Brothers, New York & London, 1943 pp. 218.

To us in India where education means passing of examinations and the teacher is merely an instructor who prepares the children for examinations, a book of this kind which brings out clearly the important and significant role that the teacher plays in furthering an all round development of the child, is of immense value. Although this book has been written for teachers of rural schools in America, and consequently discusses problems of interest and significance to them, it is of value to all teachers and educationists as it deals with the fundamental principles of Guidance. Guidance according to the authors is "a process by which an individual's potentialities are discovered and developed, through his own efforts for his personal happiness and social usefulness." The use of Guidance in education by the teacher to help every individual child to develop to the best of his capacity is the main theme of the book. Secondly, the book attempts to show how the rural teacher is not only a class teacher but is also a community leader and has to fulfil a wide variety of functions:

The authors consider a systematic and comprehensive study by the teacher of every child in every important phase of his development as an essential requisite. The study includes the study of child's health, of relationships in the home, of relationships in the school, of school achievement, of mental ability and of interests and goals. The use of different techniques in carrying out this study is discussed.

The major part of the book discusses in detail how the teacher can use and

modify the different situations of school life and deal with the various problems which present themselves, with a view to help and encourage every child to develop to the best of his capacity. In achieving this aim the authors show how the teacher can use the method of individual approach, as well as group situations and group activities in and outside the classroom. These discussions which are full of practical suggestions and are illustrated with cases, are very helpful and interesting.

The use of all available community resources and facilities by the teacher for furthering her aim is considered an important aspect of the rural teacher's work, and the authors show how in the matter of handling more specialised problems which are beyond the scope and training of the teacher, she can use all available resources in a profitable manner.

The guidance of parents also forms an important part of the rural teacher's work, if she has to be successful in her work. Here the authors have suggested ways by which the teacher can win co-operation and goodwill of the parents. These suggestions as well as the valuable hints given by the authors on how to improve the quality of the teacher's relationship with parents, and the quality of the parent teacher organisation are of interest to both rural and urban teachers.

The last chapter deals with the administrative side of education with reference to the question of qualification, remuneration, working condition and training of teachers. Here the authors have emphasised the need for the selection

of suitable persons as teachers, as the personal relationship between the teacher and pupil, which depends on the personality of the teacher, is of utmost importance. With reference to training necessary for the teacher, they have outlined the courses of study and the practical training which forms a significant part of the course. The practical work under supervision

apart from providing training in teaching, is also meant to help the teacher in the growth of her personality and in training her in the understanding and practical use of the principles of Guidance. The material has been presented in an interesting manner with numerous illustrative cases which makes the book readable.

INDIRA RENU.

**Town and Country Tomorrow.** By GEOFFREY BOUMPHREY Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., London. 1943 pp. 195. Price. 3s.

The book under review is one of the few good contributions to the subject of townplanning and development. The author has had an engineer's training, and facilities for travel, contact and observation. With these qualifications he combines a knack of seeing "things social." Therefore he writes with confidence and authority. The book, though specially written with the British background, contains observations and suggestions most of which apply as well to our own towns and cities.

Mr. Boumphrey holds that the development of most of the industrial cities suburban-wards is costly and wasteful. Extensive development of cities, according to him, leads to the extension of traffic and travel, increase of accidents, congestion and waste of time. By building over the usually fertile areas surrounding it, a town practically sterilizes and lays waste land legitimately belonging to the countryside. Thus suburban development hardly solves but creates problems. It involves tremendous costs in terms of money, land, human energy and life.

As an escape from the turmoils of town life, planners constructed what are now known as garden suburbs and garden cities in the early part of the century. The garden city is usually designed to have twelve houses to an acre, each house having a garden of its own. In its final form, Ebenezer Howard, the prophet of the garden city ideology "envisaged a central city, under no conditions exceeding a population of 58,000, surrounded by six satellites, each of 32,000 set four miles out, and each surrounded permanently by open country." The idea is excellent but it has never been realised. What has actually resulted, instead, is a garden suburban development which has further emphasised the urban evils mentioned before.

Mr. Boumphrey is of opinion that neither is the garden city really an ideal pattern as it is supposed to be. In the first instance its population is limited to about 50,000 and hence interferes with the development of urban amenities like, theatres, concerts, art galleries, universities, etc. Further, shopping is costlier in a garden city and there are evils arising

out of diffusion. There is also not much variety in the size of dwellings to answer to the families of varying size. On the whole the garden city idea has done more harm than good, says the writer. "The fundamental idea behind garden city ideogogy is that the existing towns are irremediably bad, that life in them must necessarily be lived at an inferior level to that possilbe in the country or in the nearest compromise possible—the garden city. The immediate result of this is the growth of a feeling of scorn for the old towns and a corresponding weakening of our determination to make them better."

As a solution the author offers a plan to decently house the greatest number of people in a reasonably small area. His scheme is to build ten story flats of three rooms each,—a unit of twenty acres conveniently accommodating a total of 840 flats laid out in four lines. "Each line is 21 flats long and so contains 210 flats in its 10 storeys, making a total of 840 flats for the whole site. The population of the 20 acres will then be 3,360 persons" (calculated on the basis of 4 persons per flat). Each of the four lines of ten storey flats will be separated from one another by a distance of 250 feet, this distance being determined by "the Angle of Light Interference" of 20 degrees. The Angle of Light Interference is the ratio of the height of a building to distance from the opposite side of the street. The height of a building should be determined by the width of the street.

In his ideal lay out the author provides for good roads, swimming pools and even tennis courts. He suggests that the recreational possibilities of the expansive terraces

can be utilized to advantage. The blocks should be provided with lifts and community laundrying may also be provided in the ground floor. The author claims that if his scheme is worked out it will result in a city of a compact size having all the urban amenities without the usual evils of congestion and cost. Land could be saved and put to best uses; cultural and community life could be intensified and folk-place could be brought near the work-place. In the replanning of old towns vested interests will have to be encouraged but the writer suggests that a Ministry of Planning bringing together all relevant departments like Health, Engineering, etc., should tackle the question of re-building old towns and laying out new ones.

It is not clear from the arguments of the writer what the position of the middle flats would be in each of the lines of 21 blocks he has planned. Comparatively speaking, the corner flats have many more advantages than the ones situated in the middle. In a continuous sideward development—even in cases where blocks are separated by small spaces—the flats removed from the corner ones suffer and the disadvantages of such flats sandwiched between other ones are indeed considerable in tropical countries; and particularly in regions where the movement of the breeze is not uniform, this handicap is a considerable disadvantage.

Mr. Boumphrey's book is extremely interesting and written in a pleasant easy style. It should prove valuable to every one interested in housing and town-planning, and particularly to industrialists and labour welfare officers.

M. V. MOORTHY.

## APPENDIX I.

### TYPES OF PROBLEMS REFERRED TO THE TATA INSTITUTE CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC DURING THE PERIOD 1944-45.

*Behaviour and Personality Disorders:—*  
Truancy (7), Uncontrollable (7), Obstinacy (4), Stealing (3), Mischief (2), Temper tantrums (2), Depression (2), Shyness (1), Disobedience (1), Nervousness (1), Sex Delinquency (1), Lazy (1).

*Habit Disorders :—*  
Bedwetting (13), Speech Defect (5), Slow at eating (1).

*Educational Problems :—*  
Backwardness in studies (4), No interest in studies (2).

*Psycho-neurosis and Psycho-somatic disorders :—*

Headache (3), Epileptic form of fits (3), Fits (2), Indistinct speech (2), Backache (1), Pains all over body (1), Pain in Leg (1), Swelling of stomach at night (1), Loss of speech (1), Loss of Memory (2).

*Special Cases :—*  
Consultation (50).  
Mental Testing (7).

*Miscellaneous :—*  
Deaf and Dumb (5).  
Suspected Psychosis (1).

*Evaluation of full service cases during the period 1944-45.*

	1944-45
Total number of full service cases ...	68
Total number of cases which did not attend the clinic more than twice ...	7
Total number of cases which broke off in the middle of treatment ...	12
Total number of cases which received full treatment ...	49

*Results of cases which received full treatment at the clinic during the period 1944-45.*

Adjusted—(cured or very much improved) ...	11 or 22.44%
Partially adjusted-(improved) ...	29 or 59.18 „
Adjusted or partially adjusted ...	40 or 81.62 „
Not adjusted (no change) .	5 or 10.20 „
Too early to judge ...	4 or 8.18 „

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*Illustrative Cases.*—“B” a thin sickly looking boy of 12, was referred to the Clinic from the J. J. Hospital for difficulty in breathing and pain in chest. The mother who accompanied him seemed so nervous and upset by the boy's illness that she could hardly speak to the social worker and seemed more in need of immediate attention than the patient himself, she was therefore interviewed and reassured that from the doctor's report it was evident that nothing was wrong with the boy's health and he was not in any danger. After several repetitions of the assurance the mother calmed down. The mother believed that the present symptoms must have started as a result of weakness through hard work. The boy had to be sent to work for the last six months prior to being referred, as the step-father had not been keeping very well and could not support the family by his earnings alone. “B” had to give up his studies, which he did without any

apparent resentment although he did not like to discontinue. Four months later the father got very ill and stopped going to work altogether, and the family had to rely entirely on the boy's earnings. About the same time the boy developed his symptoms. He was then stopped from working, but the symptoms continued and increased day by day thus disabling him from attending work altogether. The family history showed that he was quite a pet of the family in his early childhood. The financial condition of the family was very good until the death of the boy's father which occurred 4 or 5 years prior to the onset of his illness. After the father's death, they had been very badly off. The mother remarried a few years later but the condition of the family was not much altered as the step-father had not been earning much. So the burden of adding to the family income had to fall too early on the boy's shoulders, but he did not outwardly complain about it.

Individual Psycho-therapy of the interpretative type was given to the child in a few interviews. It was explained to the boy that his symptoms were partly in the nature of a protest at having to leave school and having to be the breadwinner of the family while his step-father did not go to work and partly a means of evading such work. The unconscious motive of the illness in the shape of gaining attention and sympathy were also discussed. He was also given medicine for its suggestive value. He was then helped to find work of a lighter type and more to his liking. Arrangements for night school were made. The boy also got opportunities for out-door play. Attitude therapy with the mother in the way of lessening her anxiety and increasing her interest in the positive side of her children's health was carried on.

Improvement was noted two days after attending Clinic and the mother who called regularly at the Clinic reported that there was marked improvement from day to day until a month later when she said he was completely cured. The boy attends the Clinic once in a while upto the present day, and the improvement reported has been kept up, and the symptoms have not reoccurred.

*Case I.*—"K" a boy aged 6 was brought by his aunt because she feared that he might take after his mother who was insane. She reported that "K" was so different from other children and did not take any interest in play and would eat anything that he came across including castor oil and bitter medicines. A mental test showed a superior I.Q. The main work consisted in assuring the aunt that there was no fear of his going insane and advising her not to speak about their fear in the child's presence. The child was also encouraged to attend the Clinic for sometime for observation while attitude-therapy to the aunt and cousin sisters in the way of asking them to show more affection for the child and in the matter of handling him in general was carried on.

*Case II.*—"F" a boy of 12 was brought by his mother to the Clinic because he did not take interest in studies and refused to go to School. She complained that the boy had gone out of her control and troubled her a great deal, by demanding money for seeing pictures, by teasing his sisters at home and destroying things and pelting stones at the house if he was refused whatever he asked for. The boy's early history showed that he was a spoilt child, being the only son. The father now being away from India on work, the responsibility of looking after the children had



tallen on the mother who could not control the boy but who demanded implicit obedience and good behaviour from him and consequently nagged the boy all the time.

Attitude-therapy with the mother was carried on to stop nagging him and to give more opportunity for independence. She was also helped to get over her feeling of helplessness by the assurance that the Clinic would take up most of the responsibility which she felt was too heavy a burden on her. Attempts to increase the boy's field of interest by introducing him to many other activities

were made. After continued efforts, he was able to take interest in a typing class, which he attended fairly regularly and he also joined a library from where he could read some good books instead of trash to which his mother seemed to object. Individual interviews of a psycho-analytical nature were given to the boy, as his problem was of a deep-rooted nature.

The improvement in this case was very slow but at present the mother reports that he has stopped troubling her, he is helpful at home and has taken up a job.

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# CAMPING IN SOCIAL PLANNING

O. MOHANASUNDARAM.

Though the possibilities of camping as an educational and socializing agency are immense, it has not yet been included in the curriculum of most of our schools or in the programme of recreation of the public. Discussing the theoretical and practical aspects of the problem, the writer gives a general plan of camping suitable for various age and vocational groups.

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Health, happiness and efficiency of the citizens are the primary concerns of a nation at all times. It is our firm conviction that the camping movement, as a part of educational and social planning, will go a long way towards enriching the lives of the young people, and building the citizens of tomorrow.

Camping is an idea; the spirit of camping, like that of scouting, has to be caught rather than taught or forced upon. In India, camping is associated with scouting and amongst the non-scout groups, it is almost non-existent. In a few cases where it is organised, it is nothing more than a mere outing. In all progressive countries of the world, the camping technique touches not only scouts but all groups of children, young people and adult groups so that it becomes an integral part of education, social life and community life. For students and sedentary workers, camping offers a wide field of interest and activities. It fruitfully solves the problem of too-much-house and too-long-vacations. For active outdoor workers who need rest, relaxation and recreation, camping can be so organised as to suit their needs and interests. For convalescents and fatigued workers, camps can become sanatoria, offering a soothing balm to their tired nerves. Camps can also organize vocational training for unemployed youths and thus keep up their morale by maintaining them in an employable state. Social agencies may organize pleasure camps with the

co-operation of the under privileged and the privileged classes, with a view to bringing them together. Through camping which affords a variety of corporate activities isolated family groups may be occasionally brought into contact and community life. The possibility of using the camping movement for many purposes and for various groups is immense. It needs to be explored, pioneered and developed to suit the social and economic conditions of our people, their needs and interests and the dynamic nature of our changing civilization. Sooner or later, the challenge of urban recreation will have to be accepted as a Municipal responsibility. The camping movement can then form a vital link between the rural parts and urban areas and increase mutual aid, co-operation and appreciation.

*Camping in Education.*—Camping is recognised throughout the world as an experience of great educational value to every boy and girl, and as the most important single item in the process of children's character building. Writing on the values of successful camping for children and youth, Prof. C. W. Votaw says: "The children in the process of growing need the tonic of the hills, the woods and the streams. They need to walk under the great sky and the stars. They ought to be toughened by the sun and the wind, the rain and the cold. Nothing can take the place of a stout physique, robust health, good blood, firm muscles and sound nerves, for these are the conditions of

character and efficiency. He should swim, fish, row, and sail, roam the woods and waters, get plenty of vigorous action, have interesting healthful things to think about”.

In England, the Board of Education in drawing up a comprehensive scheme of physical education has included such activities as camping, excursions, extensive walking tours, etc. America too has recognised the educational values of camps for children. Camps form an integral part of their scholastic life. The most beautiful sites of the country are selected for camps ; outdoor theatres, swimming pools, workshops, etc., have been built at some of the permanent camping sites. The experience of camping is made available to every boy and girl. During summer months, camps of long duration are conducted so that the vacation from school-work does not become a bother for parents or children. In Soviet Russia, every school runs its own summer school. All camps are subsidised by the Board of Education. The parents have to contribute a very reasonable sum which varies according to their salaries. The camp organisers welcome the kids to enjoy their holidays, to grow strong in order to have plenty of energy for a good season of study.

*Education in India.*—Today, education in India is divorced from the realities of life. Our schools care more for disseminating second-hand knowledge to children than equipping them for life and citizenship. Mention the word ‘education’ and it only brings to our mind’s eye the picture of textbooks, black-boards, cramped class-rooms with their rigid discipline and the nightmare of examinations and promotions ! Has not our education a fundamental obligation to preserve and build up positive health in our children ?

Health is unfortunately thought of in terms of hospitals, doctors, nurses, potions, pills or injections. Such health means at best ‘keeping away from the sick bed’ and compares well with a stagnant pool of water. Can we not think of health as a spring or a fountain of water, radiating health and energy and expressing itself in an abundant life of sharing and serving ? The play-way is Nature’s way of educating the child as well as of building positive health. So, education to be real and abiding, has to be child-centred, not curricula-centered, and based on its inherent interests, needs and urges. If physical education including activities like camping is meant to enrich the lives of our future citizens, now and for the future, it should become not only an integral part of general education but should be recognised as a programme of supreme importance in building up health which is itself so vital. Then, education will not be mere ‘schooling’ or ‘learning’ or ‘filling the empty buckets at the fountain of knowledge’ but rather a continuous elevating process of change, modification and education of the external and internal environment. Then and then only can education contribute more to the art of living, take care of the child for the present and lay the foundation for his future life, work, joy and service. It is but right that we should take greater interest in the character and personality of the child and in his social, emotional and aesthetic development, as also in his physical and intellectual growth. In the striking words of Dr. L. P. Jacks : “Living becomes an art when work and play, labour and leisure, mind and body, education and recreation are governed by a single vision of excellence and a continuous passion for achieving it. A master in the art of living draws no sharp distinction between his work and play,

labour and leisure, mind and body, education and recreation." So, we naturally look to our schools as the most important and influential social group to mould the behaviour patterns of the child to a great extent and to lay the foundation for physical and mental health. More than anything else camping and allied activities give a chance to the children to live their lives.

*The Boy Stuff* :—In a programme of study filled with activities in which the pupils are vitally interested, it is easier to keep the young people busy, without time and thought for mischief. Camping is one such activity that can fit in especially as an excellent holiday programme. Children in the process of growing need the tonic of outdoor life, the living touch of bountiful Nature and opportunities for cultivating the spirit of sharing and serving. Boy stuff is the only stuff from which man may be made. A boy is a man in the making. His psychological elements are in action, some dormant, some quiescent, some subordinate, while others are in control. His growth is accelerated during the adolescent period between the ages of 13 and 17 years, when more than at any other period in his life he needs a friend. If social workers can function as boys' leaders and approach them with sympathy, understanding and patience, they can become their intimate friends and win their hearts. In the words of H. M. Burr : 'It is great fun to live in the open air, fragrant with the smell of the woods and flowers, it is fun to swim and hike ; the greatest fun of all is to win the love and confidence of some boy who had been a trouble to himself and everybody else and help him to become a man'. This is the most elevating contribution a social worker can make through this field of education and boys' service. Occasionally at least our boys need to

get away from the school room books and from the martyrdom of examinations and promotions. A well organised camp is the one place where boys may live a care-free outdoor life, where all the urges of boyhood are satisfied, where constant association with counsellors creates a clean and healthy atmosphere, where sports and games harden the muscles, refresh the skin, broaden the shoulders, brighten the eyes, so that each lad gets back to school fit as a fiddle, brown as a berry and hard as a nut.

*The Fourth "R" Recreation*.—The main defects of the system of education used so far have been well condemned by Dr. L. P. Jacks: 'Education which trained people for work and not for play' he writes, 'for labour and not for leisure, for toil and not for recreation, was a half-done job. The traditional method of loading young people with knowledge, mostly in the form of book-learning and then turning them loose in the world with the creative part of them undeveloped, with no aptitude, with no skills, no interest for the occupation of their leisure time, was a procedure socially dangerous. It is neither the way to make good citizens nor the way to make healthy thoughtful men.'

Industrialisation in spite of its many handicaps of creating perplexities and complications in our present day civilization, has provided two safety-valves in the shape of leisure and recreation. The recreation movement which seeks to solve the problem of leisure is a challenge to our industrial civilization. Recreation, in fact, promises to re-create and repair the wear and tear due to wage-earning, on the part of the workers. It is, therefore, imperative that in any scheme of education, we should not be satisfied with the simple three R's., but remember the fourth R,—Recreation, the art of using leisure for

self-improvement, self-expression, creative enterprises and self-less service. Without provision for the education for leisure and recreation, any scheme of education will be divorced from the reality of our physical life and will only perpetuate our mechanised existence. Enforced leisure will then prove to be a liability. It is a matter of common knowledge that boys and young people walk into paths of mis-doing during the vacation days when the incidence of juvenile delinquency is consequently higher. The same cannot be said of children who have hobbies, arts and skills that will keep them busy, in body, mind and spirit. Amongst adults as well, the hours of leisure are usually hours of danger, often misdirected and ill-spent in dissipation, excitement and demoralization. More than 90% of criminal acts are committed during leisure hours. An idle man's mind is the devil's workshop. Workers after a full day's labour are left in a state of fatigue and nervous exhaustion and they crave for social participation. So, it behoves the State, Governments, Municipalities and employers of labour to create facilities for leadership, leisure-time pursuits, and comprehensive community recreation. They should undertake these as trustees of the under-privileged people. By proper legislation these can be made obligatory on these institutions. That will go a long way in building health, physical, mental, moral, emotional, social and spiritual. For after all, the efficiency of a worker will depend not only on how and where he works, but also on how and where he lives, rests, relaxes and recreates himself. In a programme of holiday planning and leisure-time recreation, camping, excursions, picnics, walking tours, etc., have a definite place.

*Camping in Urban and Rural Economy.*—  
In a comprehensive scheme of Urban

Recreation, camping should find an important place. It is recognised in all progressive countries of the world that along with economic planning, there should be extensive social planning to increase human happiness and promote health and efficiency. Social planning should provide for camping sites, sanatoria, rest-houses, recreation establishments in the countryside, besides parks, playgrounds, gymnasia, stadia etc., within the city limits. After all, it should be realised that it is far more worthwhile to spend public money on preventive measures rather than on a curative programme; for, it will save much human suffering, impaired efficiency, absenteeism, loss of wages and unhappiness. Urban recreation should be accepted as a Municipal responsibility. Our industrial civilization which has created the slums and slum conditions, should provide 'lungs' in the shape of these recreational areas including camp sites and thus counteract the evil-effects of town-dwelling.

While 'food' still remains a major problem, it takes precedence over every other thing. For any social programme to be successful in rural India, it should have some connection with finding an adequate supply of food. It is a pity that in our unfortunate country, our people are forced to labour without leisure and still go without a square meal! Most of the people merely exist, instead of living life to the full. It is tragic to see that humanity is almost reduced to a status of perpetual serfdom. It is indeed a task to make them take interest in their mundane existence and rise by their own efforts. As Mr. A. F. Brayne says in 'Better Villages': 'Ambition for better things is to be implanted.' The fatalistic, retiring temperament and the chronic contentment with their lot are, no doubt, great stumbling blocks to our national progress.

Noble indignation expressing itself in self-help, joy-of-effort and co-operation can go a long way to improve conditions in our country.

To most of our countrymen living in the countryside, working from dawn till dusk, exposed to the sun and the rain, camping, not to be a cruel joke, should naturally mean quiet relaxation in shade and shelter during the months of enforced leisure. Further, the camps should equip them with some knowledge of a variety of cottage industries which will pay them for the camp while they are there ; and which will, later, add to their meagre income when they get back to their homes. Camps should not only open their eyes and outlook, but enthuse them into purposeful enterprises which will improve their standard of life. Along and on the fringe of these aspects of camp life and training, can be linked up wholesome items of recreation, folk-lore and entertainment that can add joy and happiness.

*Benefits of Camping.*—Industries are pulling like magnets and leading to the concentration of people in cities and towns. Rural India is fast dwindling in density of population. The war has upset the rural economy terribly. From being accustomed to open-space and fresh air in the villages, people find themselves planted over-night in crowded towns, working and living in congested environments. The jazz of our present day life, speeded up to the tune of the machine, is telling on their nerves. The enforced leisure of the speeded-up industrial age is proving to be a heavy liability, especially on those who have been erst-while accustomed to slow agricultural labour from dawn till dusk. There is the supreme need to apply the soothing balm of recreation to our lives and contacting Nature where it can speak to us through the stars, the

winds, the flowers, the brooks, the hills and its other creations. If men cannot periodically seek the aid of Nature to repair the damage done to them through artificial living they are so much the poorer as far as living best and serving most are concerned. Organised camps and other types of recreation may form the only oasis in an otherwise drab stretch of urban life. Workers earn and mis-spend quite a lot on wasting and unhealthy habits, commercialised recreation which appeals to their baser tendencies and on vices that sap their vitality. Camping and allied activities offer very healthy, natural and elevating alternatives.

The benefits of outdoor life and contact with Nature are obvious even to the layman. These will be of immense value to the school-going population, office-going people, indoor workers, women and children, who live a sedentary and stale indoor life. These will be highly beneficial to the leisured classes and the privileged few who live all their lives in their luxurious homes, air-conditioned offices and comfortable automobiles ! They may even look up on participation in camp-life as a sacrifice of their comforts and conveniences. But, they will not be sorry for their "sacrifice" when they reap the benefits of health and human sympathy through camping. For city-dwellers, in general, camping is an imperative need, at least once in a while.

While camping should be not mistaken for a series of sight-seeing outings, it can well include in the programme some of these allied activities such as walking and cycling excursions, picnics, mountain-climbing, etc. All these activities offer excellent opportunities for building health, educational experiences, group activity, sociability, self-expression, development of co-operation, confidence, courage and

resourcefulness. But the attainment of maximum benefits depends on proper leadership.

Camping acts as an antidote to the evil effects of modern living and working conditions and the sedentary existence for which Nature has not intended mankind. It breaks the monotony of too much house or school or work-place feeling. It saves us from the enervating attention, servitude or domination of people around. While camping the town-dweller is made to feel one with Nature and have the comradeship of other creatures. Further, these camping excursions are useful in leading to healthy contacts between rural and urban folks.

*A Camping Project.*—Before dealing in detail with the factors that go to make successful camping, it will be worthwhile to recount the experiences of a camp project that had rendered pioneering service for boys' and girls' groups. Scouting and camping have always moved hand in hand, but the credit for organising camps for non-scouts and other groups should go to the Y.M.C.A. movement and its international staff. The Madras Y.M.C.A. was rather lucky to have as its Boys' Work Secretary for a number of years Mr. Andrew Wallace Forgie of Toronto, a Boys' Work Leader of national repute in Canada and the U.S.A. He had organised many type of camps, camps for school boys, 'street boys,' for youngmen and adults. He gradually won round him a number of leaders, in various walks of life, who not only caught the camping spirit but also developed steadfast devotion to the cause of camping and became zealous campers. He felt the need for the camping movement so strongly that he decided to devote his full time to launching a permanent camping project. His dreams came true when the Camp

Tonakela at Avadi, about 30 miles away from the city of Madras, was started in the year 1937, with the help of an Overseas Camping Fellowship of boy and girl campers of Canada and U.S.A. Ten acres of specialised environment were laid out in ideal surroundings, with tents, bathing places, a modest swimming pool, with shaded areas for play-fields, a dining hall with cabin above to provide sleeping accommodation for girl groups, a camp fire ring and a place for quiet devotion. Mrs. and Mr. Taylor Statten of Toronto Y.M.C.A. who supported this project made a special trip to India to initiate the enterprise. This noble endeavour to enrich the boy life of our country created considerable goodwill and now it devolves on the youths to sustain the cause of camping by their own enthusiasm and resources. Camp Tonakela was set up as a demonstration centre for parents, school authorities and social service agencies and the experimental centre was such a tremendous success that throughout the year, especially during the week-ends, holidays and vacations, there was a heavy demand for admission to the Camp. Therefore, it was an irretrievable blow to the camping movement in Madras, when suddenly the camping site was taken over by the military authorities in the year 1941. But still, the camping spirit remains and continues to function inspite of handicaps. Many alternative sites have been and are being explored. Camping has become a regular activity in some of the schools. Though the pioneer of the movement had to leave India due to ill-health and the project of a permanent site has been torpedoed on account of the war emergency, yet the camping spirit lives in many and it is bound to develop under more favourable circumstances. It speaks highly of the leadership qualities of the pioneer who

not only had immense faith and conviction in the potentiality of the camping movement, but moved others to action by his sincerity of purpose, goodwill and selfless service. Mr. Forgie is planning to return to India, the land of his adoption, to revitalize the movement. It is time for educational authorities, Municipalities and Local Bodies, Industries and individual philanthropists to pool their resources and give a helping hand to this educational movement in all provinces. A net-work or rather a ring of organised camping sites established around and away from the Urban areas can contribute immensely towards the building up of healthy and happy citizens.

*Leadership.*—We may have the best of camping sites and excellent equipment to create plenty of activities but without proper leadership, camping will become a mere outing. So, the key to a successful camp lies in the leadership of the entire camp. The leadership in a democratic organisation is the responsibility of the entire group who share the tasks and carry out the assigned duties in an efficient and understanding way. The word leadership does not refer to anyone in particular but to everyone who has a share in the project.

The leader should be a socialised personality,—a significant person with a sympathetic understanding, characterised by simplicity, sympathy, sincerity and motive of service. He should be well equipped with the knowledge of all aspects of camp life. He should possess psychological insight and intellectual breadth and show willingness, not only to share his experiences and joys but show receptiveness to the new thoughts and ideas of others. He should respect the personality and views of others. He should have abundant cheerfulness and humour. He

should possess a sterling character which alone can breed confidence amongst the parents who entrust their children to the leader. In the words of E. A. Chaddock: 'He that would lift me physically must be below me but he that would lift me morally must be above me.' It is necessary for the leader to possess robust health. He must be physically fit, mentally alert, socially amicable, emotionally stable, morally upright and spiritually elevating.

If the camping leadership can come up to these expectations how can it fail to be educational? It will function as an educational agency of the highest order. It will stimulate groups into worthwhile activities and transfer the leadership to the members themselves. It will develop the personality of the boys and help them to discover themselves. Such leadership will help the campers to build the programme by suggestion, not by domination or dictation. It will take care of the physical and moral well-being of the campers, not by imposing stern external authority but by creating internal self-discipline. Teachers with vision and purpose can radiate themselves into the lives of the young people and develop self-reliance, self-expression and self-education and thus build up wholesome personalities. Without this key of leadership, we cannot open the lock to successful camping.

*Camping Site.*—Successful camping involves weeks of intensive preparation and careful spadework. Nothing is better than permanent camping establishments selected for meeting most of our requirements. Otherwise, long before we organize the camp, we will have to go about seeing the prospective sites and examining their relative conveniences. Camping cannot be conducted at any and every place. Sandy soil is preferable to clayish soil, especially when there is likelihood of rain. Shady



trees are an asset especially during the summer months. The ordinary environment of everyday life should not project itself into this new experience. It is preferable for the site to be away from the railroad and main roads. It is essential for it to be on a stream or back-water or shallow foreshore where there are safe swimming and bathing facilities. There should be level grounds and trees for shelter. It should have interesting back country for hikes, nature-study, expeditions, 'Treasure-hunts,' 'Paper-chase' and similar activities. The camping site should be free from dangerous reptiles. Facilities for proper disposal of garbage, proper sanitation and sewage system should be provided. Bore-hole latrines have been found to be suitable for camps and of course, these should be provided at a safe distance, away from the windy side. We cannot expect any one site to have all the conveniences. So, the choice should naturally fall on a site which possesses the largest number of them. If it happens to be a private site, it is necessary to obtain the sanction of the owners, before making the other preparations.

*Equipment.*—While making arrangements for camps, it is better to pay attention to the following :—

1. We shall have to inspect the tents and see whether they are in good condition and enough in number for the requirements; and examine the poles, the pegs, the ropes, the mallet, etc. We will have to have the upper flaps of the tents and extra ropes for any emergency of wind or rain.

2. We will have to see whether the lights are in condition for service, with wicks, oil, etc., and arrange for sufficient supply of oil.

3. The kitchen utensils and other requirements will have to be checked

up in relation to the number of people that are expected at the camp.

4. It is very essential to check up each one of the items of the First-Aid Kit and to see that the stocks are sufficiently replenished. Otherwise we will discover, rather late, that we have taken the box with the bottles but with the contents run out. Camphrodine, Aspirin, adhesive plaster, smelling salts, pain balm, ear-drops, peps, dressing materials, scissors, a razor blade, etc., have been found to be useful.

5. We will have to take the necessary play-kit for a good play programme. According to the convenience of the site, these should be well planned in advance. In addition to the balls, bats, nets, etc., for the major games, it is good to take equipment to play a number of simple minor group games, to conduct efficiency tests etc. marking 'chunam,' measuring tape, record sheets, etc., should also be taken. An inflated motor-tube has always come in very handy while the campers are to be coached up in swimming.

6. For the individual kit, inexperienced campers will bring trunks with plenty of clothes, far more than necessary, and various other paraphernalia, such as elaborated toilet sets, etc. It is a humorous sight to see them labouring to the camp site and back again with their heavy loads. But they will soon discover that they do not need or use so much equipment. A water proof ground sheet, a simple bedding of two blankets, a small pillow, a towel and a bathing costume, two sets of clothing, a sweater, a comb, oil, musical instruments, a camera, a plate and a mug,—these are the things that an experienced camper will take for a 3 or 4 days camp, and even these are taken on a pick-a-back hold-all or package, with the least strain to the limbs.

*Staff.*—If we are taking cooks, we will have to take efficient ones who will be resourceful enough to get used to the camping environment. Food not given in time can put the camp completely out-of-gear. If campers are doing cooking in turns, they should not start making experiments in the culinary art. We should have simple wholesome food, served in time. An efficient Quartermaster is an asset to the smooth functioning of a camp kitchen and supervision of the sanitary arrangement. For First-Aid nursing a doctor amongst the counsellors will be a great help in case of an emergency. For a successful play programme and especially to create interest amongst the shy and the backward children, a trained boys' work leader and physical director is necessary. To teach swimming and to take care of the boys while swimming, an instructor who knows life-saving as well, will be indispensable.

*Advance Party.*—All preliminary arrangements need not be put off till the advance party of campers are sent. Tents should be not planned to be pitched under trees with dead branches. The reason is obvious that it may endanger lives. Arrangements for fuel, milk, curd, etc., that have to be made locally, should be arranged sufficiently early. The postal authorities should be informed about the camping programme so that they will co-operate in forwarding communications without delay.

An advance party of a Counsellor, a few campers with some experience and the cooks, going a day early, can attend to the preliminaries and the planning of the site for tents, kitchen, etc., fix up the sanitary arrangements and arrangements for the disposal of the garbage ; look to the provision of clean drinking water and arrange for the first feed of the

campers. They can even play the role of hosts and welcome the campers to the site with a yell or a shout and a smile. In fact, an efficient advance party can give a magnificent start to a successful camp.

*Organisation.*—The camp which is organised on a thoroughly democratic basis develops qualities of co-operation and abilities that are needed in effective citizenship. To set the ball rolling, the Camp Director appoints a 'Tally' or the scorer for the day and imparts instructions to the camping group regarding the sanitary arrangements, etc. Otherwise, the whole camping site may become one huge latrine. Individually we Indians are recognised to be very clean people, but we sadly lack the sense of collective cleanliness. The camp Director has also to tell the group about the Safety-First arrangement and invite them to co-operate to make the camp a success. He can then divide the group into 'tribes' for competition and other purposes. While doing this, efforts should be made to mix up the boys judiciously so that there is no clannishness and the shy boys are under proper care. Tribes of equal strength can stimulate keen rivalry but it should be diverted along healthy lines. The competitions should be so planned that the weaker and the shy kids are encouraged to participate and do their best rather than be bullied out of competition. The Counsellors are also assigned to the tribes through choice or by lots. In addition to the Camp Director, one Counsellor for every 8 or 10 boys will furnish enough leadership. And it is not advisable to take groups of more than 40 or 45 boys at one time. Experienced campers make good Counsellors and by their sympathy and sociability, they behave not as intruders who have come to rob the camp of its enjoyment and experience but rather as

friendly guides who have come to enrich it. These small groups of 8 or 10 boys that comprise each tribe, elect their own Chiefs and other officers to do various other duties. They choose their own names for the group as well as for the individuals. The Grand-Chief of the Camp is elected by all the campers at the first camp-fire, preferably through some serene ceremony or pantomime which creates the necessary dramatic atmosphere. The elected Grand-Chief of the Camp is crowned by the Camp Director. All the campers through their tribal chiefs pledge their allegiance to the Grand-Chief, promising him to contribute their mite for the success of the camp. An entertaining Camp-Fire programme follows the election. It consists of tribal songs, tribal dances, dramatics, and various other activities. The Grand-Chief appoints the new 'Tally', preferably from fresh tribes. The programme of the camp is decided by the Grand-Council consisting of the Grand-Chief, the tribal Chiefs, the Counsellors and the Camp-Director and the Tally acts as the Chief-Executive of the Council. The different problems that may arise from time to time are tackled by this Grand-Council. Safety-First must be the motto for the leaders of the camp whether in hiking, boating or building the camp-fire.

*Programme.*—The programme has to be intelligently planned so as to cater to the real needs, interests and inclinations of the camping groups. For campers who normally lead a sedantary and indoor life, it should be studded with plenty of outdoor activities. For outdoor workers, it has to provide a lot of indoor and shade activities, quiet games, songs, etc. For adults and convalescents, plenty of music and passive recreation should be provided. For family groups, there should be a variety of activities, some for the younger ones, and some for the bigger ones also and

quiet relaxation for the older folks. The younger ones can entertain others through their activities. For school groups, Nature-study, study of geology, geography, etc., could be taught in a more natural atmosphere. But care should be taken that the class-room atmosphere does not intrude in the camp-site and spoil the enjoyment. The programme making is not a rigid affair and the organisation of the programme has to vary according to the nature of the group and the camp.

*A Programme for the Boys' Camp.*—The suggested programme is based on the experience of several camps conducted for boys' groups. The programme is expected to give full scope to all the campers to 'learn by doing.' The 'activity' principle is fully exploited and there is no spoon-feeding. On no account should the campers be allowed to get scattered about without proper leadership or be exposed to hazards in a new environment. This should be specially enforced during rest hours when they are expected to rest, not loaf about. A well planned programme will help a great deal to keep the young people together, for they will have something to do all the time. Self-help, co-operative living and comradeship should be fostered. Cannishness, angularities, selfishness, etc., should be removed tactfully. Activities should be built around mottos like 'Each for All and All for Each', 'Help the other fellow', 'Do Your Best', 'I can and I will,' etc.

*A Typical Day :—*

6-00 A.M.	Rising Bell
6-15 "	Morning Physical Jerks
6-30 "	Morning wash, toilet, etc.
6-45 "	Morning Devotion, Inter-Religious worship, etc.
7-15 "	'Chota-Hazri', announcement of special activities such as Hikes, Nature-study,

		Treasure Hunt, Paper-Chase, etc.
8-00	A.M.	Camp Duties, including clean-up of the tents and camping ground
8-20	„	Tent Inspection
8-30	„	Morning games, efficiency tests, tribal competitions in various group games and sports events
10-30	„	Swimming
12-00	„	Mid-Day Lunch
12-2-00	P.M.	Rest in tents under supervision.
2-00	„	Story Telling, Mimicry, interest groups, etc.
3-00	„	Tea
3-30	„	Special activities such as Treasure-Hunt, Paper-Chase, etc., or competition in major games, viz., Volleyball, Baseball, Uth-Uthu
5-30	„	Swimming
6-30	„	Quiet Hour—Preparation for the Camp-Fire programme, viz., Tribal songs, Tribal dances, stunts, drama, etc.
7-30	„	Dinner
8-00	„	Rousing Camp-Fire Programme.
9-30	„	Hot Cocoa by the fire-side, • Devotional songs.
10-00	„	Lights out.

'Gadgets' are those intelligent dodges which experienced campers are capable of, to wrest all reasonable comforts and conveniences that are possible in a camping environment. Gadgets merely reveal the resourcefulness, common-sense, dexterity and skill of the campers, both of mind and hands. It requires great ingenuity to turn the few materials that are available in a camp to the utmost advantage in order to meet the various needs. We will have to be artists and artisans, architects and engineers, gardeners

and scavengers, carpenters and cooks, the weather prophet and what not,—all rolled into one !

Even while selecting the site, we will have to choose a sheltered spot, but not too sheltered or under the dead branches of trees. We will have to know how to beat the wind and the rain. When the wind is strong, a strong rope along the top of the tent is a good precaution. The other ropes should be tightened and the pegs driven in. While tents are drying, the ropes should be loosened. Inside walls of the tent space should be raised up, with a drain running all around the outside wall of the tent, so that all the rain water is properly drained away into a soak pit. The beds should be kept away from the wall of the tent. These are common sense precautions which one learns through experience, but these can be taken even before mis-haps over-take us.

The sanitary arrangements, such as slit-trenches, improvised enclosures for the same, etc., will have to be made at a safe distance away from the windy side. At the kitchen, the fire-place will have to be built and protected from the wind. The wash-stand, the soak-pit, and an improvised platform to keep the food stuff, etc., safe from dirt,—these will have to be improvised. Mug-Trees, Shoe-Racks, Towel-Stands, Notice-Boards, etc., are some of the common gadgets and they will aid orderliness and cleanliness of the place. Even camp furniture such as a cot or a table or a stool can be made to add to the comfort of the campers. The cot can be made with four forked pegs of the same size, two poles, the ground sheet with the eye-lets and ropes. But even while sleeping on the floor, the earth can be evened out with slight elevations to accommodate the spinal curvature. This can give immense comfort while we lie on our backs. By

these gadgets and dodges, it is possible to make our stay in the camps comfortable, enjoyable and interesting. Camps need not mean martyrdom from all worldly comforts of our present day civilization.

#### OTHER TYPES OF CAMPS.

*For the Unemployed.*—Immediately after the last Great War, we heard of the 'Peace Army' in England, which provided wholesome engagement to the unemployed youngmen, saved them from the agony of unemployment, from the drudgery and monotony of doing nothing and from the danger of becoming unemployable. The movement taught them the dignity of manual labour, by working on the roads, clearing the forests, building the bridges, etc., while all their fundamental needs were catered to. The danger of exploiting the unfortunate youths and reducing them to a status of slavery should, of course, be avoided. But that is prevented when the State takes the role of trustees of such people and provides them with kind and sympathetic services and leadership. The 'Peace Army' served and improved the country as well as the young people during the period of economic depression. In pre-war Germany, there was a net-work of Youth Hostels. Unemployed youngmen were encouraged to take to the roads and they were provided boarding and lodging, with reasonable comforts, at each one of these hostels, just for a short period, and then they were encouraged to trek on to the next one which was usually about ten miles away. Facilities for self-improvement and learning some trade were also provided. The youths were not tolerated as parasites but were encouraged to move from place to place, to know their country intimately and to keep themselves fit for any job that might come their way.

Now that the Greater War has come to an end, millions will be demobilised

in our country, from the fighting forces, war-time industries and establishments. Just as these young people have been recruited, and given intensive military training within a short period, it will be necessary to train them for civilian occupations. They should not be stranded or allowed to drift and get frustrated. The camping movement can come in very handy for such civilian training camps which will help to rehabilitate the men who have served in the war.

*For the Industrial Workers.*—Camping conduces to the better functioning of industries in that, occasionally at least, it offers an anti-dote to the monotony and drudgery, noises and nerve-racking vibrations, dust, odour and stale indoor air and the strain upon the workers' mental equilibrium and physical resistance and the effects of congested living and working conditions. Camping, undertaken even while they show the predisposing symptoms and fatigue, can save the workers from sickness and the consequent absenteeism, by giving them change of environment and atmosphere. Camping can rejuvenate them for better service, enriched life, more joy and increased happiness. Workers returning to their duties after a long period of absence due to some serious illness, would surely build up their normal health and be fit for work, if they could have the benefit of a short holiday camp during their convalescence with better food, comforts and rest. Otherwise, it happens many times that they show susceptibility to get sick again or that their efficiency has visibly deteriorated. Not looking at it from an altruistic but from a purely business point of view, it will even benefit the industries if they could eliminate the conditions for ill-health, inefficiency, low resistance, more absenteeism and build up factors for positive health and increased efficiency.

If we calculate in terms of money how much ill-health costs society in the shape of impaired efficiency and earning capacity, mounting medical expenditure, human suffering, worries and the shortening of the human span of life, any expenditure on items like camping will not appear superfluous. Here is a field of preventive medicine which can benefit the industries, the society and the citizens.

In all progressive countries of the world, we have extensive and expensive camping establishments. In Russia, the right to rest and leisure is incorporated in their constitution. A wide network of Parks, Sanatoria which once remained the homes of the aristocrats, Rest-Houses and Clubs for workers, cater to the needs of the workers who, with reduced hours of work and annual vacations with full pay, avail themselves of these opportunities. There we have a nation of physical-culturists and physical-literates.

*For the Under-Privileged.*—Social service agencies have conducted successful camps for groups of slum-children and 'street-boys,' picked up from the streets and pavements, mostly engaged in blind-alley jobs such as vending newspapers, etc., and invariably victims of adult exploitation and even moral misdemeanour. Such camps offer the opportunity to a selected group to live a normal human life, at least for a few days and enjoy all the thrills and joys of play life, in addition to the other benefits of camp life. Almost the first task at such camps will be to give a good scrubbing to these kids who might never had a bath, oil their heads perhaps for the first time in their lives, provide them a change of clothing, a towel and blanket, and discover them to be just normal human animals. While planning food for such a group, we should not be moved away by mere sentiments and

increase both the quantity and quality. Otherwise, we will soon discover to our dismay that we have upset many poor stomachs. These children do not suffer from the handicaps of a denationalising and effeminate type of education which cramps the physical growth, stunts the mental stature and crushes the 'personality' of individuals. Really, these children do not seem to have missed much from the lack of the so-called education that we have in India today. It is not a dogmatic conclusion, but a group of experienced boys' work leaders, in an independent and unbiased way, have given their impressions that the 'street boys' show more keenness of intellect, sharpened by their struggle for existence. In a 'Treasure-Hunt,' these kids were able to unearth the clues in a quicker and faster way than the school boys who underwent plenty of mental acrobatics before coming to any conclusion. We soon discover that amongst 'the street boys' there is plenty of dormant, natural talent for composing, singing, histrionics and what not. They are just eager for an opportunity for self-expression. It is true that the boys do lack the polish of the language and manners but these are mainly the defects of the faulty environment in which they have grown up. Society has denied them food, shelter, home, clothes and even clean water to bathe and drink. They have not been given a chance to grow decently. They grow like weeds on the pavements. We are surprised how a few days camping can bring on a metamorphosis in the lives of these young people. They get a new vision of life. They develop new ideas of personal cleanliness, environmental sanitation, clean language and pure thoughts. We could see their conceptions undergoing rapid changes, while some of their confessions are heart-rending. They are completely changed and look for-

ward to the future with hope and fervour. Here again the leadership with genuine sympathy, understanding and appreciation of child-nature and the social conditions furnish the keys to the rich results of such camps. These unsophisticated folks are quick in discovering the lack of genuine interest and sympathy in their leaders. They resent being catered to in a patronising way. Successful camping should be followed up with plenty of other social services such as night schools, recreation programme, vocational guidance, employment bureau, etc. By these we can reclaim some of these unfortunate victims of circumstances back into the society as decent citizens, instead of allowing them to degenerate into 'damaged humanity.'

*Walking Tours.*—This is an exquisite vacation-time activity. Bigger groups of 20 or 30 may take to the road for trekking 20 or 30 miles during the week-ends and shorter holidays. But proper control should be exercised and the group should not be allowed to get scattered about. For longer distances of over 100 miles, the group should not be more than six and should be under a responsible elder as the leader to whom the group will pledge their allegiance. It is not possible to trek along with invalids amidst us. The best thing we can do is to pack them home, as soon as we see symptoms of their getting seriously sick. So, even while starting for the tour we should all make sure that we are fit for an arduous task. The best hours to walk are between the hours 3 and 7 in the mornings as well as in the evenings. We can easily expect to trek about 10 miles every three hours and about 25 miles every day, without undue strain. During the hot hours, we can rest, cook our food, massage each other and bathe, write the diary and letters, etc. Energy should be conserved by

remaining in the shade during the hot hours, resting and relaxing. It is best to carry one's own daily needs such as change of clothes, a covering and a blanket, a few utensils and a day's rations of food-stuffs, on one's own person, preferably on a pick-a-back hold-all. Or, a light Wheel-barrow can accommodate the luxuries of the party and this can be pushed along by turns. It has been found that the best foot-wear is the bare-feet ; for, the best of shoes, light and comfortable, have caused painful blisters and had to be carried !

While using the trains and other faster modes of transport we practically get uprooted at one place and get planted at another which may lie several hundreds of miles away. We really miss seeing many things on the way. But while walking along, we can see the transformation of urban parts into rural areas and *vice-versa* ; the lay-out and the structure of the hamlets and villages, each different from the other and some of them still safe from the tentacles of the so-called civilization ; the transformation of the languages from one to the other and the happy blending of these in the intermediate areas ; the flora and the fauna of the different regions and the freaks of nature that thrill you ; the occupations and vocations in different areas the struggles for existence and the strifes that ensue from it ; the fasts and festivities that form the only oasis in an otherwise desert of existence and the colour they lend to the dull and drab life of the ever dwindling rural India ; and the social and economic conditions of the people. After a successful walking tour, we should be able to say that we have transcended the artificial barriers of caste, language, place, etc., and have emerged more human. If learning all these things first-hand and by the direct method cannot be called education,

the second-hand knowledge that is repeated in the schools can hardly be called so. Should not our educational institutions organise these outings, so that their young charges not only acquire the knowledge but build themselves up as men and women, with eyes to see, ears to hear, hearts to feel, arms to render aid, fit to live and serve and face life straight and square ?

#### PUBLICITY AND FINANCE.

*Publicity.*—For all social enterprises, it is the private efforts of groups and individuals that have set the trail. We have seen how the camping experiments that were carried on by the Madras Y.M.C.A. and Camp Tonakela have caught the imagination of the parents, the school authorities and others interested in boys' work and girls' work. After the organized camping site, Camp Tonakela, was requisitioned for military needs, it is gratifying to note that there is an increasing number of camps in Madras at newly explored sites. There was a long felt need for a training camp ; and recently, a number of teachers and a few Headmasters of Schools responded to take training in camp leadership. There cannot be a better publicity than a well organised demonstration, in ideal surroundings, with sufficient equipment and under a suitable and inspiring leadership. Every camper who returns with genuine satisfaction will become a harbinger of the camping movement.

Publicity through other means such as through lectures, radio-talks, conferences, exhibitions, publications, pamphlets, publicity, films, etc., can supplement the good practical work done at the demonstration camping centres. Publicity should not be undertaken in a spirit of salesmanship but as education of the

clientele in the significant way of living. Besides creating interest, enthusiasm and confidence, the publicity should provide definite information regarding the conveniences at the camp-site, the expenses involved, the dates of availability, the transport facilities, the equipment to be taken and various other information. If children are taken to camp, it is essential to establish contact with the parents sufficiently early. If concessions for travel, etc., are available, arrangements should be made early enough, to avail of these facilities.

*Finance.*—Finance comes as the stumbling block for most constructive enterprises, especially in a dependent country like ours. Social movements that are launched with the purpose of tending and training our children and increasing the human happiness and health of the citizens, always make a strong appeal to philanthropists and social service institutions, but unless the State takes the lead, there arise various impediments. The financial assets from these private sources always prove inadequate and limited. In anticipation of State legislations and even well ahead of these, a number of progressive industrialists have launched many a scheme of health and recreation programme. If they desire to increase the health, happiness and efficiency of the workers, there cannot be a better investment than organising health camps and sanatoria for fatigued workers and convalescents. This can benefit the industries as well as the workers. Even when the values of such social projects are proved beyond doubt the State machinery in our unfortunate country moves in such a lethargic, soulless and spiritless fashion that it strangles the interest and enthusiasm of private and progressive institutions. But in countries that have cared and planned for the welfare of the people they have always



invested plenty of money on such long-range planning which aims at the improvement of the race. They have found in these ventures an excellent aid for national, social and health insurance, and have been quick to legislate to make the social programme effective and far-reaching. The result is that we see phenomenal changes in those countries within the short planned period.

If our Government begins to take interest in the welfare of the people, it can change the situation overnight. Many philanthropists, will respond to the call of the Government and would like to leave their names for posterity to remember their benefactions. Municipalities and local bodies can be made responsible for these social programmes and for the provision of facilities according to their resources, area and population. These can come under the purview of the programme of public-health, education,

social and industrial welfare. These can be legitimate charges on the people's budget.

We should not sit, think and wait for the day when the State will wake up to its responsibilities and take a lead in these nation-building services. Meanwhile, the private enterprises will have to struggle against heavy odds, awaken social and health consciousness in the people and inspire them to rise to their full stature by their own efforts. But will our educationists realise that life has to be lived in its fullness even in childhood and youth, but not as a mere preparation for adulthood? Will our industrialists humanise the factories, and realise that happy, healthy and efficient workers are an asset to their enterprises and will increase their production? Will the State respond to the call of the nation for an abundant life? Only the future can provide an answer.

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# STANDARD OF LIVING

J. C. KUMARAPPA.

The writer, in the following article, maintains that what is generally described as a high standard of living is really a complex standard of living and is also a low one from the ethical point of view. Consequently a high standard of living as it is understood is not a desirable one ; though the term is sedulously exploited by the capitalists to market their gew-gaw and maintain, in everlasting dependence, a population addicted to superfluities.

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What is meant by a standard of living ? What purpose does it serve in life ? What is its function in the economic organisation ? How is it to be determined ? These are some of the questions that come foremost in our thoughts on this subject.

Even in the animal kingdom there are differing standards of living. Some birds are fruitarian, some are carnivorous, some build their nests on trees, others in rocks. Cats are more comfort-seeking than dogs and so on. These standards are set mostly by the instinct of the species.

When we come to the human family we are dealing with beings with a large measure of freewill. When a man has the choice of acting in one way or another and he exercises his discretion and takes a particular course, he is expressing his individuality. Two men under the same circumstances may not act in the identical way. If there is a ten rupee note found on the road, one man may pick it up and pocket it, while another may hand it in at the Police Station. So the way we act reflects our character and personality. In this, man differs largely from the so-called lower orders.

In nature work is a composite whole including both production and consumption. Production and consumption take place more or less simultaneously. A bird finds a worm and gobbles it down. A rooster comes across something eatable,

it cackles and gathers its family to share it. In such cases production equates with consumption and the party which works gets full satisfaction. It is not always so. There is, on occasions, a time lag between the two. Bees collect their honey for use later on. They produce at one time and consume at another. Here there is a chance of there being a difference between production and consumption. If the hive is attacked by a wax moth, the bees may swarm away leaving behind a part of their production. This leads to their consumption being lower than their production. On the other hand, a cuckoo lays its eggs in the nest of a crow leaving it to the foolish crow to bring up its brood. The cuckoo benefits at the cost of the crow. In all such instances one does not get the full benefits of one's labour.

When we deal with man and his economic activities things are not so simple, but the underlying principles are the same. Production may be in England and consumption may be in India and the process of equating the two is "distribution." The organisation of production is work in one form, the system of consumption sets the standard of living and the method of distribution leads to poverty or wealth. Distribution is a pipeline connecting the two tanks of production and consumption. If there is disparity between production and consumption it may be due to an obstruction or a leakage

in the pipeline. It may occasion over-production, or underconsumption, or accumulation of wealth or poverty. The standard of living of an individual reflects his personality and his scale of values while the standard of living of a group of people may be a norm set by society to regulate consumption in keeping with production.

It is difficult even to understand what people mean when they talk of a standard of living. It is a delightfully vague term. Hence it becomes convenient to bandy these words about without fear of committing oneself to anything definite. Each person may have his own notion of a standard of living and as to what it comprises. To one a radio set and a motor car may fall within the barest minimum. To another two meals a day may be a rare luxury. Therefore, it is necessary to work out an objective standard taking into consideration the conditions obtaining in our land. Should this standard have an economic basis or follow cultural considerations or social needs? What is meant by "high" or "low" standards? By the former is it meant the full satisfaction of a wide range of material wants and by the latter a very limited enjoyment of worldly goods?

The standard of life in England is generally spoken of as being high. There a gardener may live in a two-storied cottage with three or four bedrooms upstairs with a flush lavatory and a bathroom. Downstairs there may be a living room and a dining room along with a kitchen store and washroom attached. All windows will have glass shutters sheltered by curtains and blinds. The doors will have heavy curtains to keep out the draught. The floors will be carpeted and the walls well papered. Every room will have its appropriate and adequate furniture, though simple and inexpensive.

For instance, the dining room will have a dining table with proper armless chairs, a side-board, perhaps fitted with a mirror, with a requisite supply of table linen, crockery, cutlery, etc. The table service itself, though not very elaborate, will furnish appropriate dishes, plates, forks, spoons, etc., for the various courses such as soup, fish, meat, sweet, and dessert. For it is not the proper thing to eat one course with the equipment for another. The knife and fork for fish are of one kind, the knife and fork for meat are of another, while the service sets are still different. When one person sits down to a meal there will be at least about 50 pieces to wash up. Such is generally accepted as a "High" standard of living.

In India, a really cultured man, perhaps a Dewan or a Prime Minister of a State, presiding over the destinies of millions of people, may have hardly any furniture in his house though it may be of palatial dimensions. His reception rooms may have floors of marble, mosaic or polished tiles and will be washable and clean. There may be hardly any carpets to accumulate dust and dirt. The Dewan himself will go about barefooted at home as the best of persons do in the South. Our Dewan may squat on an *asan* on the floor and eat, perhaps of a plantain leaf. He may not have been initiated into the art of wielding knives and forks—for it is an art not easily acquired, following sacred rules not meant for the common folk—he may use his nature-bestowed fingers and when he has finished his repast, the leaf will not have to be washed but may be thrown away and may be readily disposed off by a goat which will turn it into milk for its owner! There will be only his fingers to be washed. By contrast this will be termed a "Low" standard of living.

Is this an appropriate use of the terms "High" and "Low"? If the standard or norm must contain a multiplicity of material wants artificially created, then only terms will have any significance. But if we chose to be perverse and regard as desirable that which calls into play the highest faculties in man, then the Dewan's life follows a higher standard than the British gardener's whose standard now becomes "Low." For a standard based on material considerations the more suitable terms will be "complex" and "simple" rather than "high" and "low." We may then say that the Dewan's standard of life is "high" but "simple" and the British gardener's is "low" but "complex." It would appear as though the present terms have been specially devised to convey a psychological preference for the "complex" standard which is the foundation of a good market for manufacturers. Who will rationally fall for a standard which is dubbed "complex"?

The complex standard converts its devotee into a drudge. From dawn till nightfall the British gardener's wife, if she means to be reasonably clean, has to toil away at sweeping the carpets with a vacuum cleaner, polish the window panes, wash the curtains, bed and table linen, the dishes, plates, etc., and cooking utensils, apart from her daily round of duties such as shopping and kitchen work. To clean even one fork properly between the prongs will take more time and labour than washing one's hands. Is it a wonder that where such complex standards prevail women prefer to be rid of the "nuisance" of having children. "Children and dogs not allowed" is an ubiquitous notice-board to be seen everywhere in such countries. Motherhood, of course, adds to the already overcrowded time-table for the day, but the choice of a

complex standard is a reflection on the scale of values prevalent. By various means at their disposal—propaganda, advertisements, setting up fashions, etc.,—the manufacturers are able to induce housewives to adopt this mode of life and become their devoted customers. Let us beware of such traps which will enslave us to material wants but offer nothing in exchange for filling our time with wasteful details which ought not to be allowed to encumber our lives.

The interested parties glibly talk of creating leisure for the housewife by introducing labour saving devices, but no sooner is a machine allowed to oust human labour than some other invention is brought in to absorb the money and time saved by the former device, leaving the second state of the housewife worse than the first.

For example let us revert to our friend, the British gardener's wife. Formerly carpets were beaten and cleaned by casual human labour. The vacuum cleaner made its appearance. It dispensed with outside labour. A travelling salesman would have visited the gardener's wife and waxed eloquent over the marvellous performance of his commodity for sale—the vacuum cleaner,—and would have appealed to the thrifty housewife by showing her how much she could save every year by not having to call in human labour to do this heavy work of carpet cleaning and how much such saving will amount to in her lifetime with interest added! As a result of this high pressure salesmanship she would go in for a vacuum cleaner and would, no doubt, save a few shillings a year but she has to do the cleaning herself with this "labour saving device." After a few years when she has saved a few pounds this way, the travelling salesman will make his appearance again

to sell her a newly invented dish-washing machine. He will again expatiate over the performance of the machine. If her savings scraped together happen to fall short of the amount needed to pay down cash for it, the salesman obligingly will offer an instalment payment scheme or a hire purchase system by which she pays a small deposit immediately—all that she may have in ready cash—and the machine is left with her for use for which she should have to pay small hire annually for five or seven years, after which the whole machine will become her sole property. She falls a victim to this temptation and, pledging her future savings, installs a dish-washing machine. She can now dispense with the services of the neighbour—an old woman perhaps who came in to help wash the dishes for half an hour daily, thus perhaps saving two shillings a week, but she has now to attend to the machine herself. If the vacuum cleaner or this dish-washing machine needs attention the company will send its visiting mechanic to set it right and, of course, making a small charge for his time. In this manner both the labour and the money by dispensing with human labour is quickly absorbed by the manufacturers while the simple gardener's wife sloggers on like a donkey having displaced the help of other human beings. She has to put in extra work attending on those—her mechanical servants. The leisure promised to her proves illusory and whatever she saves goes towards the purchase of some other "labour saving device." She is no better off in the end. If anything, she has to work harder, all by herself driving her machines. The human labour that has been driven out of employment here will ultimately turn up at the factory gates of the manufacturers for work and wages. The story of these we shall trace later.

Has the standard of living of the gardener's wife changed so as to allow her opportunities for the free play of her higher faculties? Has this complex standard given her more time for thought and reflection? On the other hand, as she has to attend to everything single-handed, she may have no time even to look into a magazine. She drudges from morn till night. All this for what? Her time is filled up with work that brings little of real life. Is this "living" in the proper sense of the word? It is worse than mere existence.

The simple life, on the other hand, can be "high" and present all that is finest in human life, perhaps, even better than a complex life which kills personality as it follows ways set by others.

Taking the occasion of dining, whether the meal is taken in the Western style or in the Indian style there is little difference nutritively. The Indian method of eating has advantages of cheapness combined with cleanliness and affords free scope for one's ideas of art in serving. What is more colourful than a meal served on a green fresh leaf? The cream rice or chapatties with yellow dhal, white dahi, red chutneys, brown pickles, multi-coloured salad of fresh vegetables, red tomatoes, etc., make a pleasing sight to start with; when the meal is over and the leaves have been removed, only the floor remains to be washed out. The diners themselves, who eat with their fingers, invariably wash their teeth and rinse their mouths also after meals, which is a most desirable and hygienic habit. But those who use forks and spoons have abandoned this wholesome custom. The farthest they may go in this direction is to dip their finger tips daintily in a finger bowl of water and after moistening their lips wipe them off with a napkin!

Wherein lies the superiority or higher quality of the most complicated Western style? The complex manner of life increases expense without any corresponding benefit in cleanliness or art. Therefore, as has been already observed, the distinction is more accurately made by calling the Western method "complex" and ours "simple," rather than "high" and "low" respectively.

Within a definite mode of living there can be "high" and "low" standards indicating differing qualities. A man who uses fine counts for his *dhoties* has a "higher" standard than one who is content with coarser cloth; while one who uses suits cut and tailored in western style with collar, tie and perhaps a hat cannot be, for that reason, said to have a higher standard than one who uses just a *dhoti* and *kurta*. The *hatwallah* certainly has an imitation complex standard while the *dhotiwallah* is perhaps more original in having his *dhoti* designed and woven to his taste locally and definitely more sensible with reference to this climate. Similarly, one who eats plain rice with chillies or pickles has a "low" standard in comparison with one who enjoys a well balanced diet.

In America, homelife is being rapidly broken up by false ideas of living being disseminated. A couple may live in a flat of one or two rooms with "labour saving devices." The husband will go to work in the morning and so will the wife. Each will have a snatch of breakfast on the way in some cafeteria and perhaps the lunch at the factory refreshment bar or grill and the two will meet in the evening and have their supper in a restaurant and, if their combined income is big enough to afford a car, will go for a drive and visit a cinema and return to their rooms to listen in to the radio. There is

no housekeeping, cooking or other attributes of the home. They will not care to have the bother of having children nor can their "high" standard of living allow it. These are the people who are slaving away for the manufacturers who set the "high" standard so as to make it possible for them to have "hands" readily available for the factories. The casual labour that helped the British gardener's wife, and the parlour maids and other household servants have been driven to the factory gates and have had their standards of living "raised."

Such "high" standards are advocated not for the betterment of the people from altruistic motives but to serve the selfish ends of interested parties. Manufacturers, apart from diverting servants into factory hands, paralyse the freedom of action and movement of their employees by such standards being set up. The bargaining power of labour is reduced in the proportion in which material standards are raised.

A millowner, who desires that his "hands" should be regular in their attendance and not seek periodical digression so that his mill production may be steady and not fluctuate, will plan on his workers leading a complex standard of existence which he will be pleased to call a "high" standard of living. To achieve this end he will pay his workers higher wages and get them accustomed to amenities of factory life such as clubs, tea rooms, games, cinemas, good housing, etc., by supporting a liberal-welfare scheme. The result of all this will be, that the worker who gets used to living on this level of the complex standard of the American couple we noticed, will be loathe to change places even if his principles were violated by the factory owner. Such a standard is expensive, so he will have

no reserves to fall back on in case of being put out of employment and being habituated to spending money on material wants, these would assume the role of necessities without which, he is led to believe, he cannot live. Thus are his freedom of movement and bargaining power curbed and the worker is glued down to his factory. Such a standard functions like a nose-string to a bullock. It is placed there to neutralise his free will and to make the worker amenable to the will of the employer.

The high salaries paid to public servants under a foreign government are of this nature. Many a parriot has been drawn away from his path of duty by such baits and has been so caught in the meshes as to deaden his conscience into adopting strong measures against his own people which he would never have consented to in his untrammelled and detached state. Such persons have their sense of values distorted and their will to act has been paralysed by the lure of colourful and comfortable existence.

Again looking at it from the point of view of the bargaining power of capital and labour, if any dispute should arise between the employer and the workers, the former having greater financial reserves can bide his time and wait till the power of resistance of the workers is broken. The workers who live on their wages cannot hold out long before they are faced with dire need and starvation. Still workers whose method of living is simple and therefore inexpensive can resist longer than those whose living is complex and expensive. Hence also the employer is interested in advocating a complex standard of living for his workers so that his workers may not be in a position to bargain with him long. Apart from these reasons concerning his workers,

we have already seen how the complex modes of living afford good markets for the manufacturers as in the case of the British gardener's house-hold. So both on the side of production and that of sales the complex standard is a profitable one for the manufacturer.

Industrial nations, like America, follow such a policy as being one of "enlightened self-interest" but it is inimical to man's freedom of action and growth of personality. There are other objectives in introducing or following a complex standard of life, but as these do not concern the masses intimately we shall but give a passing notice to them.

Ostentation calls for a complex standard. A person may put his servants in uniform to attract attention or appear distinguished. A uniform sinks the personality of the servant and makes him a mere functionary. He ceases to be "Rama" or "Din Mahamed" and becomes "Boy", Bearer, Peon, Chaprasi, Driver, etc. Such servants, (poor creatures that they are) do not possess such finery in private life and so hug these uniforms and are proud of them. Ostentatious, spending has been well termed "conspicuous waste." Such habits, in a poor country like ours, must be regarded "criminal waste."

Then exclusiveness can only be ensured by a complex standard. Travelling first class or paying high rents to live in aristocratic localities are of this category.

For our country no one standard can be fixed. Any norm chosen will have to be selected after fully taking into consideration the local demands of nutrition, climate, facilities for human progress, opportunities for expressing personality, etc.

In South India, rice as staple food may be adequate but it must be unpolished

and balanced with other articles like milk, dhal, vegetables, fat, etc. The climate here may not call for much clothing or any foot-wear and a mat may be sufficient bedding. While in the North, wheat may do duty as a staple with other articles to balance the diet. The severe cold of winter may call for more clothing and footwear, charpoys or cots, etc. So what is a necessity in one place may be superfluous in another. Hence the need to judge the mode of life in close relationship with local circumstances and environment.

If the norm chosen is to lead to permanence and non-violence, it should fit into the local economy of the people. Nature works in cycles—the life of one unit forming the complement of another—and if this cycle is broken violence is generated accompanied by destruction. The accepted standard of living, besides providing the opportunity for the development of one's faculties and laying out the method of expressing one's personality, should also form a link between the various members of society whereby the better equipped help the less fortunately placed ones.

The British gardener's beds may be equipped with spring mattresses. These are manufactured in factories with the labour of those who, formerly, were helpers in the gardener's household, cleaning carpets and washing dishes—but were displaced by labour saving devices and drawn away by the factory owner by the lure of a complex standard of life. Such mattresses are made of steel springs which are themselves factory products. If any part of the mattress requires attention the factory's "service squad" will have to be called in. There is no organic unity between the life of the people and the production of such a mattress.

Our Dewan leading a high but simple life may sleep on a mat, not necessarily a coarse one. It may well be a "Patumadai" creation with silk warp and made of reeds split into thirty twos or even finer. These mats are cooler than quilts or mattresses and they are local products. The making of these provides scope for the matweavers to develop their sense of art and skill in workmanship and affords an outlet for their creative faculty, thus helping in building and expressing their personality. These mats have various artistic designs worked into them and are so supple that they can be folded like silk. They are clean, being washable. Of course, the high quality ones are expensive. Mats may range from 8 annas a pair to Rs. 200/- each according to the material used and workmanship involved. What the Dewan may spend on these will go directly to support and maintain the artisans and their families and so forms a complete cycle with the locally available reeds which constitute the raw materials. Such an economy does not require the Army, Navy and the Air Force to secure their raw materials, find or make the markets and to keep the long ocean lines open and safe. Hence they have no need of violence as would be the case if the Dewan patronised spring mattresses made in Britain and included them in his "Standard of living."

Similarly also the Dewan's *dhoti* and other clothing, being of fine *Khadi*, made to order, will encourage local spinners and weavers and afford them full scope for development.

In such a manner everyone of our requirements should be so linked up with local production and the life of the people around us as to form a solid well-knit economy. Only then will it lead to permanence as it will promote healthy growth without destruction or violence.



Frequently we have the standard of life spoken of in terms of money and materials without any reference to the lives of those around us. Such standards are artificial and so are unstable and being super-imposed and superficial will not be permanent, having no root in the very life of the people. The British gardener's standard of life is laid out in that fashion. Such standards lead to regimentation and standardization which are soul-killing.

There is no need to lay down all the details that contribute towards living. What we need to do is to take care of the minimum that is essential and direct the productivity of the people by conditioning their environments and making raw materials, etc., available to them and then safely leave the rest to their initiative and their ingenuity without further interference, just as if we want to raise the level of water in a tank, all we need to do is to increase the quantity of water in the tank. The level will rise of its own accord in obedience to nature's laws without any further aid from us.

If people in our country are starving or going about ill-clad, they are neither slimming for a beauty contest nor are they following the cult of the nude. They know how and what to eat and what to put on. What is needed is not a schedule but the goods—articles of food and clothing. We have to take steps to make it possible to produce these in needed quantities.

If we increase the productivity of the masses and direct consumption so as to afford a ready local market the standard of living of the people will automatically rise. Such a natural formation of a standard will proclaim the culture and genius of the people and will be permanent being rooted in the life of the people.

The British gardener's standard of living was strictly individualistic in that it was not correlated to the life of the people around him. It was confined to the four walls of his house. It is said, "An Englishman's house is his castle." Yes, it effectively shuts out the world however much of material creature comforts it may provide for those inside! Such isolation from the life currents around them is caused in our country also by those who follow western modes of life.

The norm we seek for is not for a single family or even a class or group but for the local population as a whole. This means the norm will interlink the life of everyone. In a way, our ancient village organization attempted something on these lines when it tried to assure every inhabitant of his subsistence by allocating an annual share to each from out of the total produce of the village, in the form of "Baluta," "Padi," etc., to its serving members such as barbers, *chamar*, *mochi*. This system recognized that they all formed one corporate whole. But what we want is not merely provision for bodily existence but a provision also for opportunities of development of the higher creative faculties of man.

To refer again to our Dewan, when he wants a leather case for his papers, he would call in the *mochi*, specify the quality of leather he requires, and the shape, size and accommodation needed. The *mochi* in his turn may get the *chamar* to tan the required quality leather. All this will present several problems which will have to be solved. This provides scope for ingenuity and resourcefulness. Thus the Dewan's demand opens up an opportunity for the exercise of the creative faculty of those around him. If, instead, the Dewan walked into a British Store and bought a ready made article, such

a brief case may not be exactly what he wants as he had only to choose out of the ready stock. Besides, he may not even have exercised his mind as to what he wants. The thinking would have been done in advance for him by the manufacturers not for him particularly but as a general proposition. When he orders a thing locally he himself thinks of the various details and decides the kind of a thing he wants and then directs those around him to produce such an article. In this way the life and thought of the consumer is closely entwined with the life and creative faculty of the producer, each attempting to solve the problems formulated by the other. Our lives are not independent entities but are closely associated one with another. A proper standard of life will then be the silken strand which strings together the goodly pearls of life individual members of society. Such is the Dewan's standard of living in that it connected up his life not only with those of the spinners, weavers, matmakers, *chamars*, *mochis*, etc., but also with his dumb fellow creatures such as the goat that fed on his dining leaf. No man liveth unto himself. When factory made articles are used there

is no such living touch with the people around. Then the standard of life is coupled to lifeless machines which are creators without any creative faculty that can be developed.

Hence, our norm of life must be such as to bring together as a living organism the various sections of society in healthy co-operation. Such a norm will not be calculated to be of use to an isolated and segregated individual only but will function as the binding cement of society as a whole. There will then be mutual trust, unity and happiness which will be a source of strength, and not of discord, in that society.

The staple of raw cotton taken by itself is flimsy and weak. But when thousands are spun together and the strands are twisted into a cabled rope it will be strong enough to tow an ocean liner. Such should be the result produced by a satisfactory standard of living. It should be designed to bring together the consumer and producer into such intimate relationship as to solidify society into a consolidated mass.

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# PLANNED DIET FOR CHILDREN

MRS. B. M. DUBASH

Holding that the nutrition of children is linked up with the well-being of the nation, the writer discusses, in the following article, the values of food and suggests a plan of balanced diet for the infant and the child.

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From ages past, the building up of the Society or the State has depended largely on the people who have practical wisdom combined with creative vision and little can be built or achieved by weak or diseased leaders and builders.

Modern society demands from its members multifarious activities and responsibilities in various walks of life. The activities carried out by the people in the fields of Infant and Child Welfare and intensive public-health education are of primary importance as the well-being of the nation depended on the well-being of children who are the future citizens. No state or society, no government, whatever be its nature, can bear the burden of the above for the whole population. Every mother and father ought therefore to know the value and advantage of a well-planned diet for the child and also learn the art of feeding it accordingly.

A few decades ago it was chiefly a matter of opinion which foods were good and nourishing and which were indigestible and harmful. No exact data was available. The choice of food was, and still is, governed by convenience, tradition and individual tastes. During the last thirty years the subject of food and nutrition has been most carefully investigated by physiologists and bio-chemists and is now a science based upon ascertained facts and measurements. The knowledge gained by scientific research is available for general

use, and although it is by no means complete, yet enough factors are known to afford a reliable guide to the choice of proper food. Feeding experiments have shown that in man and animals the perfect growth of the body and its resistance to micro-organisms depend more largely upon food than on any other hygienic factor.

Races with splendid physique and health exist only in those out-of-the-way corners of the world where geographical isolation or religious restrictions have enforced adherence to the primitive diet of their fore-fathers—whole meal flour, seeds, fruits and vegetables, often eaten raw, with some milk and butter and little or no meat. On this diet they are healthy and grow to an active old age and do not suffer from the diseases of civilization—constipation, indigestion, gastric and duodenal ulcers, gall-stones, appendicitis, collitis, cancer and diabetes—although living under insanitary conditions and exposed to damp and extremes of heat and cold.

Machines and commercial processes have denatured common foodstuffs in such a way as to jeopardise health ; and this is more true as regards the foods and nutrition of infants and children in this age of hurry and scurry and of severe stress and strain, both physical and mental. Scientific investigations have been conducted in an attempt to determine the optimum amount of food for the growing child and the most desirable distribution in the diet of the various food elements,

We realize now that it is not enough simply to provide a required amount of food in twenty-four hours, but that it is essential for the infant and the growing child to receive the various food elements in proper amounts and in relation to one another.

All the various studies in the past have resulted in a fairly accurate knowledge of food requirements. This does not mean, of course, that our knowledge is complete. There is still room for much more investigation and a great need for more accurate information concerning many factors involved in nutrition and growth. We do, however, have enough knowledge at the present time to direct quite intelligently the feeding of normal children. Especially in a subcontinent like India—which is also a dependent country—our problem at the present time is much more that of making the present knowledge available than in adding further knowledge.

In order that a child may be healthy, well nourished and vigorous, he must eat the foods which meet his needs. The food requirements of a child are more important than those of an adult. An adult's food must keep him warm and supply him with energy, maintain his body processes and repair his worn-out tissues. A child's food must do all these things and, in addition, must also build new tissues constantly, as he grows taller and gains in weight month by month.

It is well to make children realise early that certain foods, such as tea, coffee, sweets, etc., are foods for grown-ups. Therefore it is not advisable to let a child taste food which it is not considered good for him to eat ; he will only want more of it. Food that a child never tastes he rarely desires. If he does ask for it, it is usually easy to answer 'No'. Begging on his part

for a bite of food not good for him should not be encouraged and should never be allowed to succeed.

Thus when a parent, especially the mother, plans the day's meals for her child, she should know which foods supply the elements that he needs. The following list shows the foods in which the various elements are found most plentifully and the purposes for which they are needed. The foods are divided into two groups :—

- (1) those that keep the body warm and supply it with energy ; and
- (2) those that repair worn-out tissues, maintain the body processes and allow for growth.

Also, in order to measure accurately the amount of food required, it is necessary to have a unit of food value, which is known as the 'Calory.' One calory is the amount of heat required to raise the temperature of a litre of water through one degree centigrade. When food is 'burnt' or oxidised in the body, one-sixth is used for work i.e. for functioning of the organs and tissues, which includes muscular effort, whilst five-sixths is lost as heat energy. Thus there is 'external work' or work performed by muscles, etc., and 'internal work' or the normal activity of the tissues maintaining life.

It is possible to estimate the number of calories corresponding to foot-lbs. of work. By foot-lb. of work we mean an arbitrary unit of work, i.e. one foot-lb. of work is equal to the energy expended in lifting one lb. through a space of one foot. The average calories required are 2,000 to 4,000 per day depending on the sex and the work done as well as on the weight of the individual. The case of an infant is different in this respect, in that

it is fairly constant but on the other hand, he is a rapidly growing organism so that his calory requirements are much higher than those of an adult. By careful experiment it has been shown that an infant under six months requires 40 to 50 calories per pound per day. After six months muscular activity increases quickly, though growth is no longer rapid ; consequently the calories remain high, though at 12 months, 40 per lb. are usually sufficient. The calories required vary from 1,000 to 1,500 upto the age of five, the amount required remaining at about 40 calories per lb.

#### Food Elements :—

##### 1. *Carbohydrates* : (starches & sugars).

Found plentifully in—cereals, bread, rice, fruits, vegetables (especially potatoes), sugar and other sweets.

##### Why needed :

To supply energy, to keep the body warm and to build body fat.

##### 2. *Fats* :

Found plentifully in—butter, cream, milk, vegetable oils, cod-liver oil, etc.

##### Why needed :

To supply energy to keep the body warm and to build body fat.

##### 3. *Proteins* :

Found plentifully in—milk, meat, fish, eggs, etc.

##### Why needed :

To repair worn-out tissues and to build new tissues.

##### 4. *Minerals* :

Found plentifully in—milk, green vegetables, fruits, egg-yolk, meat, fish, whole-grain cereals.

##### Why needed :

To maintain body processes, to build bones, teeth, blood and other parts of the body.

##### a. *Calcium* :

Found plentifully in—milk (chiefly), also in vegetables and some fruits.

##### Why needed :

To build teeth & bones.

##### b. *Phosphorous* :

Found plentifully in—milk, eggs, meat, fish, white grains, cereals.

##### Why needed :

To build bones, teeth and nerve tissue.

##### c. *Iron* :

Found plentifully in—egg-yolk, dark green vegetables and other vegetables, meat (especially in liver), fruit, whole-grain cereals.

##### Why needed :

To build red-blood cells and thus to prevent anaemia.

##### d. *Copper* :

Found plentifully in—liver, whole grain cereals, peas, beans, egg-yolk.

##### Why needed :

To help prevent anaemia.

##### e. *Iodine* :

Found plentifully in—sea-food, vegetables, especially spinach, fruits, cereals, drinking water & milk.

##### Why needed :

To bring about proper action of thyroid gland, and to prevent certain forms of goitre.

5. *Vitamins :*

*Vitamin A :*

Found plentifully in—whole-milk, cream, butter, egg-yolk, cod-liver oil, liver, dark-green leafy vegetables.

*Why needed :*

For growth, to increase resistance to infections ; to prevent Xerophthalmia. (A common eye disease in India, especially in the south).

*Vitamin B to B1. :*

Found plentifully in—vegetables, especially leafy vegetables ; whole grain cereals, especially those containing the germ of the grain ; fruit and to a slight extent milk.

*Why needed :*

For growth ; to stimulate appetite ; to prevent beri-beri (a disease of the nervous system).

*Vitamin B2 :*

Found plentifully in—milk and green leafy vegetables.

*Why needed :*

To prevent Pellagra.

*Vitamin C :*

Found plentifully in—raw fruit (especially citrus fruits, oranges, grape-fruit, lemons), raw tomatoes, cabbage, carrots and turnips (pulp or juice).

*Why needed :*

For growth ; to help build good teeth ; to prevent scurvy.

*Vitamin D :*

Found plentifully in—cod-liver oil, egg-yolk, Viosterol (ergosterol-ultra-

violet light) and irradiated foods. (The last two should not be used unless ordered by a physician.)

*Why needed :*

To prevent rickets ; to help build good teeth.

6. *Roughage :*

Found plentifully in—fruit, vegetables, whole-grain cereals & bread.

*Why needed :*

To regulate bowels and prevent constipation.

7. *Water :*

Found plentifully in—fruit, vegetables, milk and soups (in addition, some drinking water daily).

*Why needed :*

To help build and maintain blood and tissues ; to provide proper elimination by kidneys and intestines and to help regulate body heat.

**Foods forming a well-planned diet and their advantages.**

A well-planned diet for an average child from 1 to 6 years should contain the following :—

1. A pint and a half of whole milk a day, but not more than a quart.
2. Fruit once or twice a day, including at least one raw fruit, such as orange, grape-fruit, apple or banana.
3. One or more fresh vegetables a day, including a green leafy vegetable such as spinach.
4. A "starchy vegetable" such as potato, once a day.

5. An egg daily.
6. If non-vegetarian, then one may add a serving of fresh meat or fish daily by the time the child is 18 months old ; before that, three times a week only.
7. Cereal once or twice a day.
8. Bread and butter two or three times a day.
9. Cod-liver oil daily (at least for children under two years).

*Milk.*—Milk is an essential part of every child's diet. The average child should receive a pint and a half daily. Some children grow best if they receive a quart a day, some if they receive only a pint. As a rule, not less than a pint and not more than a quart of milk should be given daily.

Milk contains proteins of the quality most needed for growth ; it contains fat and carbohydrates for energy. It is the best source of calcium and a good source of phosphorus, a poor source of iron and an excellent source of Vitamin A, a fair source of Vitamins B and C, and a poor source of Vitamin D. When milk is pasteurised or boiled, a considerable amount of Vitamin C is destroyed.

If the average child takes a pint a half of milk daily, he will receive a sufficient amount of calcium and Vitamin A and also a considerable amount of proteins for growth and of fat and carbohydrates for energy. Milk is the best single food for a growing child, but it will not supply all the food elements in sufficient amounts to provide for normal growth. It must be supplemented with foods that supply iron, Vitamins B, C, and D, and energy.

#### *Preparation of Milk for Children.*—

1. *Liquid Milk.*—Milk sold in cities rarely has more than the average amount of fat ( $3\frac{1}{2}$ -4%) and therefore can be used whole ; that is, without skimming. Where specially rich milk is used, it may be necessary to remove a small part of the cream for the younger children. More children are upset by milk that is too rich than by milk that is not rich enough.

Milk should never be given to children raw. If raw milk is bought or if there is any doubt as to whether the milk has been properly pasteurised or not, it should be boiled. For children under 2 years all milk should be boiled. Boiling milk not only kills the disease germs in it but also makes it easier to digest. For children over 2 years all milk should be pasteurised.

To boil milk for children either of the following methods may be used :—

1. By direct heat—Place milk in a deep bowl or saucepan and set it over a flame. Bring the milk to boil, stirring it constantly. Boil it for one to three minutes, then remove it from the stove and cool it rapidly.
2. In double boiler—Place milk in the top of a double boiler and cover it tightly. Put cold water in the bottom of the double boiler and put the double boiler on the flame and allow it to remain there from 10 to 20 minutes after the water has begun to boil.

Always boil the day's allowance of milk at one time, cool it rapidly and place it on ice or in some other cold place ; and before it is served to the child the chill may be taken off by placing the cup of milk in hot water.

2. *Evaporated Milk.*—Evaporated milk should be diluted with sufficient boiled

water, according to the direction on the can, to make whole milk. It should be used as fresh liquid milk and kept on ice. It has already been well cooked in preparation and need not be boiled.

3. *Dried Milk*.—Whole dried milk should be made liquid by adding enough water, according to the direction on the package, to have the value of whole liquid milk. It should be used as fresh liquid milk and kept on ice. For children under two, it should be boiled as is liquid milk.

4. *Milk Products*.—These are foods made from milk such as butter, ice-cream, cheese, etc. Only milk products made from pasteurised or boiled milk or cream should be used for children. Butter is a valuable food and may be given to children over a year old. Home-made cheese may be given to children, if made from pasteurised milk. Occasionally as dessert, ice-cream may be used if made from pasteurised or boiled milk; but ice cream should never be given to children between meals, as it spoils their appetite for the next meal.

*Fruit*.—Raw or cooked fruit is valuable in a child's diet because it supplies vitamins, minerals and roughage. It should be given once a day or oftener. Raw fruit is specially valuable because it supplies Vitamin C, which is not supplied by most foods. One raw fruit should be given daily to all children, especially to children under two. Citrus fruits—oranges, grape fruits, lemons—and tomatoes (sometimes considered fruits) contain the greatest amount of Vitamin C and should be given often. Either pulp or juice of oranges and tomatoes may be given. Lemons may be given in the form of lemonade. Ripe apples, cut short, or ripe bananas may be given. Cooked fresh fruit, such as apple sauce and baked apples, may be given; but it must be remembered that

as a rule cooked fruit cannot take the place of raw fruit.

When fruit is to be served raw, it should be thoroughly washed, and skins, cores and seeds removed, except that apples with the skins on may be given to children over 5. For the younger children most fruits should be mashed or scraped; for the older ones they should be cut up. All fruits to be used for children must be in perfect condition, thoroughly ripe, yet not decayed.

*Vegetables*.—Vegetables, especially fresh, green, leafy ones, are valuable in the child's diet because they supply vitamins and minerals and also roughage. It is advisable to give the child daily one vegetable or more besides potatoes, which do not take the place of green vegetables. A variety of vegetables should be served to children. As a rule, dark-green leafy vegetables, such as spinach, are the most valuable; and vegetables that vary in colour, such as cabbage and lettuce, are best when dark green. Other vegetables such as carrots, beets, turnips, onions and parsnips may be used when it is difficult to get green leafy vegetables, but the latter should be used whenever possible.

*Preparation of Vegetables for Children*.—

1. *Fresh Cooked Vegetables*.—In cooking vegetables, try to avoid losing their vitamins and minerals, which are easily lost by wrong cooking. Some of the vitamins in vegetables are easily destroyed by long heating or by cooking with baking soda etc., and so vegetables for children should be cooked only a short time—just long enough to make them tender and without adding baking soda etc. The minerals are easily washed away in water, and so it is well to cook vegetables in as little water as possible, and if any water is left after cooking, to serve it in the form of soup



or otherwise. Baking requires no addition of water and is therefore a good method of cooking vegetables that are very juicy or that have a thick skin to keep in the moisture. Greens, such as spinach, can be cooked without adding any water ; the water that remains on it after washing is enough if the pot or saucepan is tightly covered. Above all, vegetables for children should not be cooked with fat, meat etc., nor should any vegetables be fried, not even potatoes.

2. *Canned Vegetables.*—Where fresh green vegetables are hard to get or are very expensive, canned tomatoes may be given frequently to children of any age ; and other canned vegetables may be substituted several times a week. Never use canned vegetables that seem to be spoiled. Home canned vegetables are more likely to be dangerous than those canned commercially, and in order to eliminate any other of disease-producing bacteria, all home-canned vegetables should be boiled five minutes before being used.

3. *Dried Peas and Beans.*—These do not take the place of fresh green vegetables, but if soaked, boiled, mashed through a strainer, and served with milk, they may be given occasionally to children over two.

4. *Raw Vegetables.*—Certain raw vegetables such as lettuce, cabbage, and tomatoes may be used in the diet of a child over 2 years of age if they are carefully washed in water known to be safe and potable. Lettuce and cabbage should be shredded or chopped. Tomatoes should be peeled or quartered or sliced or put through a sieve for juice.

*Eggs.*—Eggs are rich in iron, protein and Vitamin A. A fresh egg should be given to the child every day, soft-boiled or hard-boiled, scrambled, poached or used in custard or other food. They are most digestible when cooked slowly in water

that is not quite boiling. If they are cooked until the white should be chopped fine and the yolk mashed thoroughly. Eggs cooked in fat or grease are not suitable for children. All egg and milk desserts may be given to the older children and never to those of 1 and 2 years.

If a child has never tasted an egg, a small amount of yolk should be tried the first time and the amount increased rather rapidly until the child eats the whole yolk, and later the whole egg. Occasionally a child is found who cannot eat eggs because he is sensitive to the protein contained in them. Such a child may vomit repeatedly after eating only a small amount of egg or he may show signs of anaphylaxis (hives) i.e., have itching, eruptions etc. Such a child should not be given an egg a second time until a doctor has been consulted.

*Meat and Fish.*—(Especially for non-vegetarian communities.) Meat and fish supply valuable proteins, minerals and vitamins. At the beginning of the second year, small servings of tender meat—chicken, *Lamb or Liver*, boiled, broiled or roasted and finely minced should be given at least three times a week. By the time the child is 18 months old, he may have a little meat or fish every day. As the child's ability to chew increases, he may be given a little larger piece of meat, but it must always be tender.

Once or twice a week, steamed, backed or broiled fresh fish may be substituted for meat. Fish with a little fat is suitable for a child under 4 years ; a child over that age may have a little of any fresh fish ; but care must always be taken to get rid of each and every little bone. Rich "made" gravies, fried meats or fried fish have no place in the child's diet. Meat is well liked by children, but it must not be eaten in place of vegetables or milk.

**Cod-liver Oil.**—Cod-liver oil is a food very rich in Vitamins A & D. To prevent rickets, children upto 2 years of age should be given cod-liver oil everyday except when they are getting plenty of sun-light daily. For the child from 2 to 6 years it is often advisable to continue giving cod-liver oil especially when he is living in a climate with little sun-shine. Most children enjoy taking the oil after meals. Violsterol or irradiated foods should not be substituted for cod-liver oil except on the advice of a doctor or physician.

The above foods are needed in a well-planned diet by the average child for his proper growth and development, and it is desirable that a child's daily diet should include them all. It should be remembered however, that no harm will be done if occasionally one food is omitted or if sometimes a child does not drink all his milk.

Appetite for different foods varies from time to time and with different children, and it is not wise to insist that each food be eaten in the same quantity every day. A child will probably learn to like and eat well all these foods if they are given for the first time when they are hungry, if he sees others eating them with pleasure and if meal times are pleasant occasions without discussions of food, coaxing, urging or scolding.

Similarly, the meals for the whole day should be planned on the basis of the child's food needs for the day, and not meal by meal. If meals are planned separately, there is always the danger that some of the essential foods will be left out. Also, it is of advantage to follow a regular schedule of meal hours in the interest of the child's future welfare and well-being. Very little sugar either as sweets or mixed with different foods should be

used in a child's diet, as the child may acquire an undersirable appetite for sweets if much is used. "Never give sweets between meals," should be the motto of every good mother. She may occasionally give to children over two years of age a piece of candy as a part of the dessert.

Tea, coffee and some bottled drinks contain stimulants which young children should not have. Similarly highly seasoned or spiced foods such as pickles, sauces, etc., are forbidden foods for young children. So also nuts, because they are very difficult to chew, slow to digest and likely to be sucked into the larynx, should not be given to children less than six years old.

Civilization has made it too easy to get wrong foods of all kinds and difficult to get the foods a child ought to eat. Natural foodstuffs form only a small part of the present day diet because they have for convenience been replaced by less perishable foods. As we walk down any street of shops we are continually being tempted by displays of groceries, sweets and cakes. A very varied and palatable diet may contain few or none of the vitamins and provide only fuel and protein. On the other hand, very monotonous diets may contain all the essentials.

The ideal mixture for babies would correspond as closely as possible with human milk in its proportions of fats, carbohydrates and animal protein. If the purity of the local milk supply is in any doubt, it can be substituted by a reliable brand of *dried milk*. As milk is such a common vehicle for tuberculosis and other infections, the pasteurization or sterilization of milk is advisable although some of the vitamins are to a certain extent destroyed in the process, and some calcium salts are precipitated and removed.

Since the vitamin content of milk is always a variable and unknown quantity, all infants, even the breast-fed ones, should be given supplementary supplies of all the vitamins. It is now customary to give babies orange juice as an anti-scorbutic. Two tablespoons of the strained juice of tomatoes is also found useful in place of the above.

Additional Vitamins B and B<sub>2</sub> can easily be given to bottle-fed children in the form of marmite, half a teaspoonful a day, either added to the food mixture or mixed with water. Sieved boiled potatoes form a better supplement than most patent cereal foods as potato provides both Vitamins B and C. Vitamins A and D are provided by half a teaspoonful a day of cod-liver oil. Sunlight in the open air also helps to maintain the supply of Vitamin D.

As the infant grows into a child the ratios of the food constituents are gradually changed from those in milk to those of the adult. The fat changes from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{6}$  and the carbohydrate from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{2}{3}$ . The proportion of protein in human milk and the adult diet is the same, but with the important difference that the protein of milk is entirely animal protein.

Care must be taken, after weaning, not to reduce the amount of animal protein and fat by overloading the child's diet with cereals and sugar. The balance of the diet is often upset by milk puddings consisting mostly of cereal with little milk. Moreover the pudding is gently simmered for hours, thus destroying Vitamins C and A in the milk. Far preferable to milk puddings are milk and egg custards, milk jelly set with gelatin, and jellies made with

fresh fruit. Sieved spinach and other greens are excellent sources of Vitamin A and C and of iron salts for the weaned child. The Vitamin B complex can be supplied by marmite, and whole cereal products. Eggs should not be omitted as they provide Vitamin D, good protein and Vitamin B complex.

The child should be accustomed as soon as possible to have only three meals a day and to have milk at meal times, 'as milk is a food and not a drink.' Nothing should be given in between meals except plenty of water or some juicy fruit. It is a common sight to see children browsing continually upon biscuits, sweets and chocolates, brightly coloured jellies, ices and moulds, made from packets devoid of any essential nutriment, and then refusing proper food at meal times. In all this the child's appetite must be the eventual guide, as at the same age there is much individual variation in the quantity eaten, and the child seldom over-eats if only plain and wholesome foods are provided.

Lastly, it would not be out of place here to lay stress on the following two important points for the health and growth of children :—

- 1 Regularity : Definite hours for meals should be followed consistently. If food is taken irregularly then disorders of digestion are quite likely to follow, leading to poor digestion in later years.
2. Good eating habits : Children should be encouraged to eat slowly and masticate well. They should learn to feed themselves as soon as possible.

## FITS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ORIGIN.

J. C. MARFATIA.

No human ailment can be strictly isolated from its psychological and social environment and successfully treated by the specialist. Taking the case of fits of psychological origin Dr. Marfatia emphasises the indispensable services of the social worker without whose "co-operation a psychiatrist's therapeutic value to the community is greatly hampered."

Dr. Marfatia is the Physician of the Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata Institute.

A fit, as usually understood by a physician, is a symptom manifestation of a disease, either organic or functional, during which a patient may show convulsive movements, either tonic or clonic, or both, and during which he may or may not lose consciousness.

Very often one is confronted with cases of fits where the patients give a description of their ailment which does not tally with the above definition. Any unusual or out-of-the-common group of symptoms, occurring regularly and frequently, may be popularly designated as a fit. A few examples of 'fits' as described by patients may be given below :

1. Nodding of the head sideways ; attack lasting for about a minute.
2. Attack of giddiness.
3. Attack of giddiness and blankness, the patient saying that he felt giddy and his mind became blank.
4. Falling down unconscious with no convulsive movements.
5. Attacks of blankness only.
6. Anxiety attacks : palpitation, sweating, giddiness, etc.

It is very essential to ascertain by means of a thorough medical examination that the fits are not of organic origin.

One must exclude Symptomatic and Idiopathic. Epilepsy before concluding that the fits in a given case are of psychological origin. The diagnosis will be discussed a little later.

*Etiology.*—Formerly no classification of Epileptic fits into Symptomatic and Idiopathic Epilepsy existed and no distinction was made between Epileptic fits and Functional fits, i.e. fits of psychological origin. A fit of any kind was called an Epileptic fit. Descriptions of this disease are found in the historical writings of ancient physicians—as long back as 3500 B.C. ; and the writings of Hippocrates, (460-370 B.C.) the " Father of Medicine," were probably mere repetitions of facts stated by them. The notions as regards the etiology of this disease were based on superstition and beliefs in the power of magic. It will not be out of place to mention just a few of them, as such beliefs exist even today in certain parts of our country. Epilepsy was considered as ' The Sacred Disease ' and " was in some regions attributed to temporary loss of the soul from the body, in other regions to possession of the body by some demon or other malignant spirit.....". " At Amoy in China when some mischievous spirit has produced Epilepsy by drawing the soul out of the body, definite means are taken to recover the absent soul. If the patient is a child, the mother rushes to the rooftop and waves about in the air a bomboo pole to which one of the child's garments has been attached ; while she is doing this

she several times calls the child by name and begs it 'to come back, to return home.' Another inmate of the house simultaneously bangs a gong to attract the attention of the lost soul to the familiar garment. After this procedure has been carried out, the garment is placed beside the child so that the soul which is supposed to have slipped into it may return to the body. If the child does not die, the people believe that recovery is sure to follow sooner or later. In parts of India the principle of treatment is the same, but the soul is caught in the boots of the sufferer."\*

It may be pointed out in this connection that the popular remedy employed by people to bring round a person in a fit is to take a shoe near his nose. Some people use an onion instead, which method is nearer to the use of smelling salt (Ammonium Carbonate) by medical men. The idea probably is to stimulate, by pungent smell, the higher nerve centres of the brain. Where epilepsy is attributed to possession by a demon, magic and religious rites are employed to expel the spirit. "In Northern India sound thrashing of the patient with a sacred iron chain is supposed immediately to expel the demon, and in Bilaspore, when a man has had an Epileptic fit he will wear an iron bracelet to keep away the evil spirit which was supposed to have possessed him" (F. Talbot). Even today, one, not uncommonly, finds a patient who says that he has tried all possible measures to cure his fits including those of tying sacred threads and emblems (Dhaga Mantar) round his neck so as to protect himself from possession by a spirit.

"The custom of the little church of St. Tecla in Llandegla, Wales, illustrates another type of cure. The patient first washes his limbs in a sacred well near the

church, drops four pence into it as an offering, walks three times around it, and repeats the Lord's Prayer three times. Then a 'fowl,' which was a cock or a hen according to whether the patient was a man or a woman, was put into a basket and carried round first the well and afterwards the church. Next the sufferer entered the church and lay down under the communion table till break of day. After that he offered six pence and departed, leaving the fowl in the church. If the bird died, the sickness was supposed to have been transferred to it from the man or woman, who was now rid of the disorder" (F. Talbot).

The conception of fits being a contagious disease is still prevalent and it is not unusual to hear of incidents that children who suffered from fits are not allowed by their teachers to attend the school because of the fear that other children may get infected with the disease. "Patients were not permitted to sell articles of food and drink, and if allowed within city limits at all were strictly isolated. In some regions, for instance at Rufach in upper, Alsace, isolation hospitals were founded for the victims of Epilepsy as late as the middle of the fifteenth century." (F. Talbot).

Other very common superstitions and beliefs one meets with in practice are that the attacks of fits are governed by the moon, fits being always more in frequency and intensity on full moon days and on *Amavas* days (no moon); that the attacks are due to some magic performed on them by someone and very often the first attack of fits is associated with some event like the person having taken tea or a meal with someone and something having been added to the tea or food. In children

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\*Fritz B. Talbot in "Treatment of Epilepsy."

very often the parents complain that the fits are due to some evil person "casting his eyes" on them. Frequently the fit has been considered as a visitation by a goddess and various questions are put to the person during the fit with a view to knowing the future. These persons (the subjects of the fits) are credited with foretelling future events correctly under the belief that it is a goddess within them who is answering their queries. Many such superstitions can be cited with illustrations and many must have heard of or come across such cases.

*Psychopathology.*—A fit of psychic origin is one of the many conversion symptoms manifested in hysteria. The symptom is the result of a conflict between the super-ego (conscience) and some 'wish' not palatable to the super-ego, which the latter represses. The wish, although repressed into the unconscious, succeeds in obtaining a disguised expression by "conversion" into the symptom, the psychic 'energy' derived from the repressed ideas being said to be "converted" into a physical symptom or sign.

The hysteric often identifies himself with some other person and his symptoms are a replica of those the other has suffered or is suffering. The motive of the identification is not merely to suffer the illness which the other has, but also to fulfil the childish wish to enjoy something which the other has enjoyed or is enjoying in spite of illness e.g. eclamptic fits in a pregnant woman or vomiting in pregnancy.

The symptom can, however, be seen in practically every case to have some meaning for the patient. He is unaware of it. This meaning is eventually purposive, the symptom being a solution, however unsatisfactory, of some problem of everyday adaptation.

One very clear motive behind unconsciousness during a fit is to escape reality or to escape an unpleasant situation. The subjects become—so to say—unaware or unconscious of the situation. The fit serves as a refuge from an intolerable adjustment demand and is a flight from undue stress. The movements (Clonic convulsions) during the fit may be symbolic of some meaning, as said above, or they may be performed because the patient thinks they are necessary accompaniments of a fit, which fact they learned previously by seeing such cases in their own home or outside. The latter may also account for the fact that a fit and no other symptom is chosen if the motive is attention seeking. The latter motive is very clearly seen in some cases. When there is a new arrival in the home of a brother or sister baby who henceforth becomes a partner in sharing the family attention and love, the first child who has been the centre of family attention for some years naturally views the whole situation with perturbation and disquiet. Another common example is the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law situation. The latter who has been accustomed to her parents' love and undivided attention, especially if she happens to be the only child, finds it increasingly difficult to face the new situation where the mother-in-law distinguishes and discriminates between her own children and the new daughter-in-law. The only solution, though incomplete in itself, the only way in which she (the daughter-in-law) can show her resentment and at the same time gain attention from the mother-in-law in a disguised form, is to have recourse to some symptom. If the mother-in-law, besides being partial, is cruel and harasses the girl, the latter is provoked to become aggressive and is driven to think of resorting to a natural course—that of retaliation. This course

is not possible as the ethical codes and moral teaching (super-ego) forbid it. Lest her instincts get the better of her super-ego she goes into a fit which—not only prevents her from retaliating, but also serves as self-punishment for even having thought of retaliating.

*Diagnosis.*—It is often exceedingly difficult to distinguish between epileptic and hysterical fits. It is absolutely necessary to differentiate fits of organic origin, either Symptomatic Epilepsy or Idiopathic Epilepsy, from fits of psychological origin (hysterical fits). The intention is not to

give a detailed differential diagnosis of fits but to emphasize the importance of differentiating at least genuine or Idiopathic Epilepsy from psychological fits. It is very essential to know this as the line of treatment of these conditions is entirely different, and it would certainly be an additional advantage to a social worker who has this knowledge.

In the most cases the following points may help in arriving at a diagnosis, but it should be remembered that each point taken singly is not sufficient for differentiation :—

### Epileptic Fit

1. **Aura**  
Visual—flashes of light.  
Auditory—voices or noises.  
Motor—Twitching of muscles.  
Sensory—Sensation as if ants are crawling under the skin.  
Visceral—Pain, breathlessness, etc.
2. Epileptic cry—which may or may not occur.
3. Complete unconsciousness.
4. Two distinct phases—Tonic phase followed by clonic phase.
5. Patient injures himself—(Presence of old scars).
6. Occurs irrespective of time or place.
7. History is not so very characteristic—sudden onset without any obvious cause, though emotional upset of any sort may precipitate a fit.

### Fit of Psychological Origin

1. No aura.
2. No epileptic cry.
3. Partial—never complete, patient can be roused.
4. It does not show this sequence. The fit consists of irregular clonic convulsions indicating some symbolic significance or representing some emotional experience which the patient is re-living.
5. Hysterical fits do not involve any but very minor injuries.
6. It occurs in the presence of others (audience), and is dramatic in nature.
7. Very often a characteristic history is obtained. The fit having started or having been provoked by an emotional situation, *e.g.*, after quarrel with husband or wife, mother-in-law, etc., or in children after being scolded or punished by parents or teacher, etc.

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| <p>8. Babinsky's sign—positive. Reflexes lost.</p> <p>9. Post-epileptic phenomena like—confusion, headache, drowsiness, temporary hemi-plegia, automatic movements, acute violence or sometimes even homicidal attacks.</p> <p>10. Biting of the tongue.</p> <p>11. Frothing at the mouth.</p> <p>12. Incontinence of urine or stools.</p> <p>13. Complete amnesia as regards the fit.</p> <p>14. Gradual deterioration of the intellect may or may not occur.</p> <p>15. Fits come on during sleep.</p> <p>16. Temperament—irritable, short-tempered, selfish, egoistic and unsocial.</p> | <p>8. It is not obtained ; reflexes are exaggerated.</p> <p>9. Nothing of the kind occurs—patient is up and about as if nothing had happened.</p> <p>10. No biting of the tongue.</p> <p>11. Not usual.</p> <p>12. Unusual.</p> <p>13. Remembers the fit.</p> <p>14. No deterioration of mental functions.</p> <p>15. Unusual.</p> <p>16. Temperament.</p> |
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*Treatment.*—The Treatment of a fit is the same as that of any other hysterical manifestation, viz., psychotherapy. Before any psychological treatment is undertaken for the condition a physical examination should always be carried out. It must be both thorough and impressive. This not only removes any doubts in the physician's mind of the possibilities of the condition being organic in nature, but gives the patient the immense satisfaction and reassurance of having been examined thoroughly and systematically. It also helps in gaining the patient's confidence which further facilitates matters during treatment. The nature of the illness is explained to the anxious relatives of the patient also and any superstitious and observed beliefs in their mind as to the causation of the disease are removed. The spirit of defeatism and despondency, both in the patient and in his relatives, which is the out-come of a wrong conception of the disease and faulty diagnosis and prognosis, should be removed by reassuring them that it is a curable condition.

Having assured the patient that there is nothing wrong physically, one must explain that the cause is psychological, illustrating how emotional difficulties could give rise to physical symptoms. No rash or hurried interpretations should be given to the patient of the meaning of his symptoms.

A detailed chronological history of the onset and course of illness is the next important step in the treatment. It is helpful to know the history of the first fit, how it started and under what emotional situations and stress and whether subsequent fits occurred under similar circumstances.

In hysterics it has often been the custom to use suggestion with a view to removing the symptoms. This is not wise, for it makes use of suggestibility, the excess of which is one of the morbid characteristics of the hysterics. The temptation of using too much explicit suggestion, for example, use of tonics and rest therapy which have no effect on the



root cause of the trouble, should be avoided.

The personality make-up of the patient should be carefully studied and the cause of the patient's inadjustability found out. A study of the environment is indispensable for proper re-education of the patient. In many cases a modification of the environment, if not a complete change, becomes an urgent necessity. This modification may be in connection with the relationship of the patient with family members at home, or relationships at work, etc. A re-building of a disintegrated personality into a well integrated and healthy personality is then undertaken by means of deep psychotherapy or psycho-analysis. The patient is thus prepared to understand the causes of his maladjustment and the unconscious motives and mechanisms of his symptoms when interpretations of the meaning of his symptoms are given. As insight increases, the patient knows himself better and becomes better acquainted with his environment and faces difficult situations in a healthy normal way.

The symptoms may disappear gradually as the patient realizes the uselessness of the protective nature of his symptoms, or their disappearance may be as dramatic as their appearance.

### Case I.

A young girl, aged 14 years, was referred for attacks of "fits." By "fits" was meant attacks during which the patient became red in the face, saw round black spots before her eyes, followed by giddiness and unconsciousness. There were no convulsions. There was no biting of the tongue, no incontinence of urine or drowsiness after the fit. There were no other features indicating that the "fits" were Epileptic in nature. Physical examination revealed no organic disease. Hereditary history was not very significant.

The fits came on mostly in school and at home, never outside these places. They lasted for 1 or 2 minutes. The family consisted of the patient's mother, two brothers and one sister.

During interview with the mother it was found that her most favourite child was the eldest son, the bread-earner of the family, who was working in some distant country far away from home. The second favourite was the youngest son, the third was the younger of the two daughters and lastly the patient herself.

According to the patient the mother was very partial in her affection towards her younger sister, one year younger than the patient. The latter troubled her very much during her studies and carried tales to the mother who in her turn scolded the patient.

The treatment mostly consisted in modifying the mother's faulty attitude towards the child which was one of constant nagging and partiality. Complete co-operation of the patient's mother was possible only after the nature of the illness was explained to her. The child was treated by psychotherapy during which the mechanism of regressing to infantile ways of seeking attention and sympathy of the mother was explained to her. During the interviews she informed the psychiatrist that she found the subjects of History, Geography and English difficult at school. Arrangements for extra guidance and coaching in these subjects were made. The symptoms disappeared completely in five to six interviews. There has been no recurrence of "fits" for the last 3 years as was shown by enquiries made.

### Case II.

A male adult, 28 years old, came for treatment of "fits," accompanied by his mother. The patient always knew that he was going to get a fit though he could

describe no aura as such. He felt a little uneasy and giddy and took out his spectacles when he thought he was going to fall down. Before actually falling down the head was turned to the left and then he turned round twice and the third time he fell down. The patient did not remember his having undergone this ritual but it was told to him when he recovered. Every time he fell down he injured his left shoulder, (he used the word "dislocation" instead of injury, though no dislocation was detected on examination). The fit lasted for about 5 minutes, but if there was an iron ring in his hands, which was given to him by a 'Fakir,' it lasted for a shorter time—1-2 minutes. This man had seen him having the "fit" which he had at the time when he was seeing a film. In the story of the film a house was to be set on fire when he got the fit. This ring was given him two years ago. The fit has no relation to the time of the day. He gets about one "fit" every 15-25 days on an average. During the fit he becomes unconscious and there is foaming at the mouth. After the fit he does not remember anything until he sees the iron ring in his hand. There is a lot of sweating during the fit. Fits mostly occur at home and sometimes in the street.

*Family History.*—Not very significant regarding heredity.

*Family Relationships.*—Over-protective, over-fussy, only child of mother, otherwise normal relationships.

*Personal History.*—Very fond of pictures, could not see many because he had no money.

*Chronological History.*—The fits started about 15 years ago. Neither the patient nor the mother remembered the circumstances under which the first fit occurred. In the beginning, for about 6 years or so,

the interval between successive fits was about two months. Since the last 8 years the interval has been 15 to 25 days, as said above. The nature of the fit was the same. He left school at 15 or 16 years, partly because his parents could not afford to educate him and partly because they thought he was too weak to study. Then he got a job at an Industrial Home where he earned Rs. 13 p.m. The Secretary of the Home thought that his "fits" were infectious and hence his services were dispensed with. He was promised that he would be re-instated when he was cured of his fits. So the patient was out of job for 7 to 8 years when he first came for treatment.

During this period of unemployment his fits increased in frequency. He never made any effort to secure another employment and he was encouraged in this indolence by the overprotecting attitude of his mother who maintained that he was not fit for work as he was incapacitated by the fits. Besides, if he got a fit in the street, some accident would occur and her son might be killed. So he was sent out of the house on as few occasions as possible. The father saw no objection to the boy working for his livelihood, though he never firmly told the boy so. He occasionally persuaded him to seek employment.

*Treatment.*—On physical examination no organic lesion was discovered. Treatment mostly consisted in attitude therapy to the mother who was re-assured that his fits were curable. She was told also that his fits were not dangerous and that there was no harm in the boy going to work. Though the mother agreed, the patient did not make any effort to find out any job. After a few interviews with the patient lasting about a month, he agreed to find out some employment for himself. As he could not find one, it was suggested

that he should approach the authorities of the Industrial Home which he was formerly attending. The authorities were informed that the fits were not infectious and that the patient was under treatment and was showing improvement. After a fortnight or so he was back again in the same Industrial Home where he was formerly working, but in a different department. The patient was told that he would not be given any remuneration for the first 3 months or so, and that if they found his work satisfactory, then only he would be given remuneration. At first the patient was very reluctant to take this new position, but was persuaded to do so. The patient had no fits for about 25 days 'previous to joining work at a stretch and had no fits after that for about 40 days.' Thus he was free from fits for about 2 months. During these 40 days he could not come for treatment because of his going to work. After this he had one fit. He came again for treatment, though he continued to go to work. He said that one day he had a fit whilst going out of his work. He did not like the work very much and wanted to be in the same department where he was formerly working. He also resented that he was not to be given any remuneration, whilst others were getting theirs. He was promised that something would be done in the matter. After about 20 days—during which time he had another fit, that too, whilst going out for his work,—he was shifted to his original department and got 4 annas a day as remuneration. Since then, for about 2 months, he remained free from fits. Regular treatment was not possible because of the nature of his employment. No follow-up of the case was possible as contact with the patient was completely lost.

**Conclusion.**—The average physician or surgeon is very reluctant to make a

diagnosis of neurosis. His sense of omnipotence suffers a severe jolt when he realizes that he cannot help his patient by medicines as he suffers from a mental disorder. At the most he asks his patient to "pull himself together" (which tip has been given to him by everyone who is interested in him), gives him a placebo in the form of some medicine and hopes for the best. No one discredits the importance of a thorough physical study (cases have been on record where enthusiastic psychiatrists have treated psychotherapeutically cases which have all the time been organic diseases), but what one deplors is the loss of valuable time in an endless search of organic causes which has proved fruitless and the fact that in the meantime no attention has been paid to the mental, emotional, economic and social life of the individual. The patient and his relatives are disgusted and a spirit of utter despondency and defeatism lays hold of them. If the psychiatric nature of the complaint is not recognised early and if the patient is not referred to the proper place for treatment, he falls an easy prey to quacks and charlatans who lose no time in exploiting him.

The role of social workers is evident. The social worker, by reason of his calling, can have easy access to the family situation; he can remove doubts and superstitious beliefs from the minds of the patient and his family members, recognise the psychiatric nature of the trouble and overcome difficulties in the way of the patient going to the proper place for treatment by wise counselling and explaining to him and his family members the true nature of the illness. Not only the home environment, but also the patient's environment outside the home is studied by the social worker so that manipulation of the case can be effected according to individual needs, and with reference

to the patient's manifold problems. In case II quoted above, it was the social worker who removed from the mind of the person in charge of the Industrial Home the faulty notion that the patient's fits were infectious. It was due to the lack of further psychiatric social service that the follow-up of that case was not possible. Thus one can realize how indispensable the services of a social worker are. It also becomes obvious that without his co-operation a psychiatrist's therapeutic value to the community is greatly hampered.

# HABITUAL CRIMINALS AND THEIR TREATMENT

GIRDHARI LAL RAJBANSHI

Public opinion needs to be roused in favour of newer and more rational methods of treating the criminal. With this object in view, the author who was Honorary Probation Officer of the Bombay Released Prisoners' Aid Society, made a detailed study of 50 habituals in the Thana prison. On the basis of data collected by means of interviews with the prisoners, visits to their families and friends, court judgments opinion of the jail staff, etc., he examines the various personal and social factors that lead to crime and draws up a general programme for the re-organization and improvement of the existing prison system.

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Crime, primarily a legal concept, has been defined sociologically as an act that is "harmful to society." From times immemorial the conception of crime has changed in accordance with changing theories and ideologies. Always the fundamental but fallacious assumption has been that the nature of the criminal differs qualitatively, not quantitatively, from that of the non-criminal. Thus during the medieval ages it was universally believed that evil action was the outcome of "possession" by the evil spirit. Later on the Classical School of Criminal Law made its appearance. Hedonistic Psychology which was the basis of this School was applied by Jeremy Bentham to legislation : Punishment should be severe enough so that the pains inflicted would exceed the pleasures derived from the violation of law. Though this school erred in that it left the criminal out of consideration and assumed that all criminals should be treated alike, its main contribution was that it reacted violently against cruel, arbitrary and unequal sentences and eliminated the supernatural factor in the causation of crime.

In 1876 the Positive School of Criminology, represented by Lombroso, appeared, which found the source of difference between good and evil in the physical characteristics of the individual. Dr. Goring in England, however, proved conclusively that criminals are not different anatomically as a class from other people.

In the meantime a new body of theories was developed. One school observed in the criminal a mental condition in which "while intellect remains unaffected, the moral sentiments are thoroughly lost." Next came the Glandular Theory that criminals "are either of sub-normal mentality or of faulty mental or nervous constitution." This theory was rapidly replaced by that of Psychiatry which asserted that a large proportion of prisoners were psychopathic individuals of a well-recognised type. Here again was repeated the fallacy of Lombroso—the assumption that the non-criminal population would be found to differ from the men in prison. The theory of motivation of the Psychoanalysts according to which individuals take to crime to get their wishes satisfied was also gaining ground.

The various current theories relate crime to economic factors like overcrowding and unemployment ; to environmental factors such as the presence in the neighbourhood of gambling dens, brothels and other agencies of moral risk ; and sociological factors like broken families, demoralizing home conditions, etc. The inevitable conclusion to which we are driven is that crime is not only a product of individual maladjustment, but a social product as well. No statement of causes can be adequate that does not recognise both the individual and the social factors. And this leads us to the multiple-factor theory to account for crime.

*A Few General Statistics.*—Fifty habitual criminals in the Thana prison form the basis of this study. A few general statistics regarding them, inadequate though they be, will contribute, at least somewhat, to our understanding of the influences which enter into the making of the criminal. Classified according to age-groups, 23 of the offences committed by them were in the age-group 20-29, 30 in the age-group 30-39, 7 in the age-group 40-49 and 3 in the age-group 50-59. 17 persons were married, 30 unmarried, while 3 were widowers. According to occupations, 8 were coolies, 6 were millhands, 5 were cultivators and the remainder belonged to a variety of other jobs. This seems to bear out the supposition that occupations requiring but little intelligence, skill or training furnish more than their proportion to the criminal population. 36 of the criminals were illiterate. The types of offences show a wide variety, the greatest number (15) being infringements of the District Police Act. 35 criminals were sentenced to terms ranging from 3 to 11 months and 5 and 8 to terms below 2 and 3 years respectively. Most significant are the statistics on the basis of previous convictions, because they raise the important issue of why individuals who have fallen into crime and have suffered imprisonment are not deterred from repetition of offences. 14 of the 50 were committed twice, 8 were committed three times, 7 four times and thus up the rising scale to 1 who was committed seventeen times.

*Personal Factors.*—Since crime is a social product—the outcome of the interaction between the hereditary and personal traits of the individual on the one hand, and the social surroundings and environmental influences on the other—we shall deal in turn with the personal,

family and social factors. Attention must be paid to these factors both in the treatment of the offender and in the programme of prevention. Among the personal factors that affect crime we may begin with the physical characteristics of the individual. Of the criminals under study, only 20 claimed to be enjoying good health ; 8 were suffering from chronic diseases, like Asthma and the rest had some physical deficiency or abnormality. Now these physical characteristics may lead to crime by weakening a man's capacity to earn a living by manual work or by affecting human behaviour through begetting an anti-social grudge, or a hostile attitude, or a feeling of despondency. It is impossible to determine with precision how much weight and significance should be given to physical factors in the genesis of crime. The facts and figures at hand prove that it varies with age, type of crime and frequency of conviction. All the same these are factors that must be recognised and reckoned with.

Another factor of importance is the psychological. The mental constitution of man consists of animal propensities, social feelings, egoistic sentiments, intellectual capacities, ethical and religious sentiments. Most wrong-doing is not the outcome of anything wrong in this original nature of ours, but of "the imperfection of the higher and super-added elements" in our nature. Some persons never rise above their propensities, resembling animals in the life they lead. Others, though endowed with considerable intellect, still have not enough of it to resist their propensities. Susceptibility and proneness to suggestion is indeed a common factor of misconduct. No doubt, we are all thus susceptible, but the mentally defective are more so. The inheriting of immoral

tendencies is also through mental defect. It is not the evil doing or criminality that is inherited but the incapacity of the individual to adapt himself to the requirements of society and to acquire the higher and more complex associations required for good and socially approved conduct. Only 20 of the 50 criminals were mentally sound ; of the rest 3 were sub-normal, 7 were very clever and 20 were mentally disturbed. Often persons who are mentally normal suffer from mental conflicts because of some mishap or other leading them to withdraw from home and school, take to a life of vagrancy, haunt places of moral risk and while away their time in undesirable ways. As many as 39 of the criminals under study had suffered from some such conflict at home or in the neighbourhood, with the police or during imprisonment.

Personality traits undoubtedly enter to a greater or lesser degree as secondary influences. During the course of the interview, 7 of the criminals were cautious and hesitating, having, as they revealed, suffered betrayal of confidence at the hands of their companions. 6 others were thoughtful and stubborn. 5 were very frank and seemed anxious to sit and talk with any visitor. 4 were reserved and annoyed as a result of clash with the prison environment. 4 were cowardly and sometimes refused even to come for the interview, 4 displayed desirable traits, having a sense of self-respect and confidence. 4 others were garrulous and talked for the sake of talking and so on. Often criminals display gifts of mind, intelligence and will-power and strength of purpose in the execution of crime. The cause, then, of their taking to crime is not intellectual incapacity, but rather the absence of the tender feeling of social responsibility and the lack of that delicate

spirit of conformity to social rules which is called the "moral sense."

Habits and vices in which criminals indulge lead directly or indirectly to crime. It was reported that 11 of the criminals lived a street life, 2 wandered from place to place, 14 were fond of motion pictures, 12 indulged in gambling, 15 in alcohol, 7 in other drugs and 16 in sex adventures. How vices like drink and gambling lead to crime is obvious, but even a seemingly harmless habit like visiting cinemas can have the same effect. Some of the criminals planned their schemes of night adventures after the last show ; cinema halls were often meeting places for ringleaders and members of gangs ; sometimes they went to cinemas only to see if the inmates of a particular house were within so as to break open the house in their absence ; they even learnt certain criminal practices like breaking open safes from what they saw in motion pictures.

*Factors of Home and Family.*—So much for personal factors. Now as to factors in the social background, of which the family comes first, an inadequate and incomplete family life has started many an individual on a delinquent and criminal career. The commission of a criminal act by any member of the family unfolds its internal disintegration and failure in the performance of its mission. The first characteristic of such families is poverty. Of the prisoners interviewed, only the family status of 4, as judged by the incomes they earned and the rents they paid, could be said to be comfortable and of 7 ordinary, while that of 11 was poor and of 28 very poor. 12 cases reported having suffered from the slow tortures of lack of proper food, if not actual starvation. 9 frankly admitted that they were considered an economic burden by

their families, and this created in them an increasing sense of insecurity and a strong desire to be self-supporting. It was at this time that they had initial experiences in petty stealing and shop-lifting in their neighbourhoods.

Poverty, again, meant segregation in low-rent "blighted" areas which provide an appropriate background for the development of predatory habits and practices. 22 criminals stated that they had terrible housing conditions. 5 of them were obliged to live outside for the greater part of the night and 2 took to truant habits.

The next important influence of the poor home is the early employment of the younger members of the family. 16 cases in the present study revealed their premature employment by parents and others under the stress of economic necessity. Not only were they chained down at a callow age to monotonous work and drudgery, but the money they earned was at the sacrifice of education and recreation and, worst of all, the spending of this money without supervision led them to gambling, dishonesty and spendthrift habits. Side by side with this was the lack of recreational facilities, as in the case of 33 of the 50 cases. The street became the logical avenue of escape for them, and its environment produced in them a spirit of growing lawlessness which they could not themselves perceive and developed in them a desperate pursuit of any and every kind of pleasure. 23 of the cases left home for good. After aimlessly wandering about for months, untrained and inexperienced, they fell into bad company and joined the criminal class.

Other characteristics were bad atmosphere at home and improper parental attitudes. Only 9 criminals were in a position to enjoy the love and affection

of their parents. 15 found their home life extremely dull. The study further revealed 6 cases the members of whose household fell out with one another over trifles, 4 who had incompatibility with their wives, 8 in which fathers were addicted to drugs and alcohol, 10 which were cursed with sexual immorality on the part of mothers or fathers, 9 whose families lacked cohesion and unity and 10 who had lost both their parents. The broken home does not present a very serious consequence so far as society is concerned, but its effects upon the life of the children are fraught with moral disaster.

The same is the result of improper parental attitudes. Formerly we used to think of problem children, but the dawn of knowledge and new sciences have made us realize that there are problem parents who do a great deal of damage to the interests of children during the course of their upbringing. In the cases under study, 5 were neglected by one or the other of their parents. The parents of 6 did not interfere with their activities and let them loose to do whatever they wished to do. 12 cases were dominated by their fathers, 7 by their mothers and 9 by other relatives.

In 4 cases strict control was found. The punishment inflicted to impose standards of conduct tended further to alienate them from their parents, to induce protective lying and to give rise to subtle means of outwitting the parents and circumventing the school authorities.

*Factors Outside the Home.*—Among these factors may be mentioned bad surroundings, lack of play centres, want of education, undesirable companions and unemployment.

One of the most probable causes of delinquency and crime is the lack of the stabilizing influences of a neighbourhood



or community. 4 of the criminals studied occupied middle class quarters, 7 occupied lower middle class quarters, 11 dwelt in industrial and mill areas, 12 lived in congested chawls and 16 found food and shelter in the so-called "blighted" areas. These were of low rent areas and a population segregated on the basis of rent-paying ability is bound by the nature of things to fall victims to the clutches of law. Again, the criminals stated that in their neighbourhood there were houses of prostitution, and such abodes of vice, besides being haunts of professional criminals, lower the social and moral status of the residents. Small wonder, then, that 26 of the criminals took part in all kinds of unwholesome activities. They even went so far as to declare that mostly they could not distinguish right activities from wrong. 36 stated that they never took part in religious activities, which was a pity since affiliations to religion have shown a kind of deterrance to crime.

Play centres in the neighbourhood are important factors. It is only in play that children rub shoulders with one another and learn lessons of co-operation which is the main-spring of life. But in the present case, only 13 enjoyed their play in the school playgrounds where there was some degree of supervision. Even these, when they left school, relapsed into delinquent activities in the company of rascally persons. 17 used to play near houses of moral risk and haunts of evil persons; 12 used to play in the neighbourhood streets, which were not only physically unhealthy but psychologically harmful; 17 used to go to far-off unsupervised playgrounds and recreational places. The lack of adequate community direction and supervision of play is one of the causal factors first in delinquency and then in crime.

Education as a social factor plays an important role in the development of personality. The exact relationship between ignorance and criminality is not clear, because it is impossible to separate ignorance from other factors, but that some sort of relationship exists is beyond doubt. A child that is not sent to school fails to receive the moral training available there. It is easier, besides, for the educated man to secure a job and thereby earn a livelihood without resorting to crime. Sometimes the failure of the school to adjust its curriculum to the individual needs of children and adolescents has started many a one on the downhill road to crime. These statements are substantiated by the figures. 22 of our prisoners were never sent to school because of absence of parents or poor economic conditions. Of those who left school after having joined, 6 did so because they were not interested in the curriculum, 4 because they were beaten black and blue by their teachers, and the remainder for some family reasons or because they found greater interest in the exciting and pleasure-giving activities of their friends.

Since a man is known by the company he keeps, association with adolescents of criminal habits and anti-social view-points is a more or less definite factor in the causation of crime. 7 of the prisoners associated during adult life with pick-pockets. 15 used to keep company with thieves, 13 with gamblers, 17 with alcoholics and so on, 10 had as their companions dacoits and were members of organized gangs. This supports the view that most crimes are committed in groups and that most criminals live in and are supported by groups. The result of this collective and co-operative effort is the establishment of an intimate and amicable relationship amongst the members who

welcome whoever is appointed leader and abide by the rules of the gang.

Unemployment is one of the chief contributory causes of delinquency in our country. In the cases under study, 41 prisoners stated that before their first arrest, they were employed in different types of jobs which, being temporary, brought about irregularity of employment. 9 prisoners never worked and were dependent upon others for their daily bread. 24 changed jobs from time to time owing to meagre wages, long hours, accidents, etc., which were definitely demoralizing upon the worker. Only 11 were employed at the time of arrest. The worst part of the situation is that in a society in which thousands of men with an honest record of hard work find it difficult to obtain employment, the discharged prisoner finds it impossible and has no alternative but to continue in the life of crime.

Before proceeding to an examination of the penal system, a word must be said here about the hardening process of criminal behaviour and the relationship of the police to crime. Life histories of criminals show that the disease of criminality develops from slight to serious, from occasional to frequent and from temporary to permanent and chronic. Criminals and the protective agents of society are in constant conflict, each driving the other to greater violence. The dramatization by the community of the activities of an offender by means of the patrol wagon, the police station, the other criminals and lock-ups, must be taken for granted as a stepping stone in the hardening processes of criminal behaviour. Once in prison, the raw criminal finds himself in an atmosphere completely surcharged with criminality. When he issues from the prison-gates, his isolation from wholesome social influences forces

him into companionship with others similarly deprived and placed and the gang becomes a means of his escape and security.

Most police officials are today subjected to demoralizing influences as a result of which they enter into private agreement with criminals for their own ends. One criminal stated that he used to share with the police the booty he got through his criminal enterprises. 6 stated that they were for some time actually working for the police force. In fact, almost all the criminals were bitter towards "the guardians of the law." Drastic improvements are called for. Problems such as administrative efficiency, adequate staff, proper equipment, systematic methods of investigation and proper distribution of forces demand a sound and scientific solution, for the police constitute the community's first line of defence against crime.

*The Penal System.*—Having examined the various factors that lead to crime, we may now proceed to study the penal system as it is and as it should be. For we cannot hope to make considerable progress in our efforts to lessen the number of crimes and reduce the proportion of criminals without devising ways and means of introducing changes and modifications in the organisation of our penal institutions. Now imprisonment has an inherent limitation. The primary function of prisons, according to conventional opinion, is to confine criminals, which function the prison performs efficiently in the sense that very few escapes occur. But the conditions which are most conducive to reformation may be more or less in conflict with conditions which produce the minimum number of escapes and the maximum deterrents, retribution and incapacitation. Punishment may produce fear, but more than fear is required for

an alteration of character. As it is, the prisoner suffers a loss of status and does not regain it when he returns to the community. If he goes to a new community and seeks to conceal his record, he is in constant dread that someone else will reveal it. It is natural, therefore, for a large number of criminals to feel on release that they have an insurmountable difficulty and to find a way out by developing an efficient technique of crime.

Under these circumstances the policy that, from the factual point of view, is taking the place of punishment, and that, from the ethical point of view, is preferable to punishment, is the policy of studying the personality of the offender and the whole social situation in which he becomes a criminal and controlling and reforming by means of the knowledge thus secured. The live test of the successful functioning of our prison system must be in terms of the protection of society and the prevention of crime. The only way to achieve this objective is by the reformation of the criminal. To-day, however, many a prison in our country is a mere training-ground in crime where young offenders learn, from their association with hardened criminals, the secrets and thrills of a criminal career.

This is due, in the first instance, to the physical conditions of our prisons. Buildings with narrow windows and doors, insufficient light and space, poor ventilation and inadequate sanitation and health services, seem to have been the model for prison construction. Even the staff is inadequate. The prison medical officer has to examine all cases of illness, supervise sanitary conditions as well as food and attend daily all the sick cells. But he is treated and considered as a subordinate official and is not armed with powers to carry out his duties. The warden, too,

is expected to be an administrative head, an educator, a teacher and a reformer. He must run his institution in profit-making directions, so that his prison may be a self-sustaining economic unit. But he does not enjoy the privileges of a business man who plans his business. Nor, very often, is he the man with the exceptional aptitude his calling requires. As regards the guards, whose work is taxing, the lack of opportunity for advancement together with the low pay make it impossible to attract and keep the right men for this work.

The rules by which prison discipline is sought to be enforced defeat their own ends. The very fact of a big community of men kept in custody in the teeth of their will, their complete isolation from the rest of the world, the maintenance of strict silence in the cell at all times, the deadening equality of prison life and the subjection to an authority that is "direct, immediate, imperative and inescapable" make discipline one of the acute problems of penal administration. What are the rules in force to enforce discipline? They are innumerable. They are also immeasurable. Clothes must be kept in proper order, cells must not be dirty, orders must be obeyed—these are but a few of them. Indeed, some of the rules against laughing, making signs, inattention, etc. would tax "the patience of a Job and the wisdom of a Solomon." As no attempt is made to provide a substitute for the criminal's prior interests, ideas and activities, and as no call is made on his personal initiative, these rules can have little, if any, effect upon his feelings and attitude. If it be asked why these rules are at all put into force in spite of their repeated break down and failure to bring about the end in view, the answer might be given that they owe their origin and development to the time-honoured and traditional concep-

tion that crime was the result of possession by the "evil spirit" and that silence and isolation provided the best means to get rid of that spirit.

*The Reformation of the Penal System.*—From the above it will be seen that though the theory of punishment has been based on the three principles of retribution, deterrence and reformation, in actual practice the punitive and deterrent ideas of prison treatment have almost completely destroyed the effects of the few influences that are called reformatory. For more than a century the methods of reformation were trial and error methods. The classical theory was that reformation could be accomplished by inflicting greater pain than the pleasure received in the commission of the criminal act. Other methods tried were meditation enforced by isolation, moralizing by sermons and exhortations, getting the criminal to sign a pledge and maintaining constant watch over him. Even today our knowledge of the technique of reformation is very scanty, but we can say that it can be achieved by suppressing tendencies towards delinquency or by the sublimation of these tendencies. •

This can be effected by the principle of individualization. By this is meant the adjustment of the methods of treatment to the needs and requirements of the individual offender. Individualization, therefore, means an intensive study of the individual offender for the purpose of finding out the specific conditions, circumstances, processes and mechanisms involved in criminality. The mechanical treatment of any and every criminal in the same way must give way to the psychological and sociological which would naturally vary with each individual. Again, persistent efforts should be made to encourage contacts between criminals and other

people, for criminality which is the product of the isolation of a number of persons from law-abiding people cannot be cured by more isolation.

It follows that the population of the prison must be classified for the purposes of individualized treatment and control. At present some sort of classification for administrative purposes does exist, but the congregate prison has made it useless in practice and the importance attached to precautions against escape and internal disorder has handicapped all further efforts in that direction. The utility of a system of classification will depend upon the suitability of the general housing conditions. Hence every prison system requires the following :—

- (1) A central reception and classification building.
- (2) A group of buildings for temporary or permanent segregation of special health and other problem groups.
- (3) A series of structures for the general mass of prisoners.

The reception building must be spacious enough to accommodate all those admitted and shelter them temporarily till they can be classified. The second group of buildings should be for the insane, the feeble-minded, the tubercular, contagious venereal diseases, sex perverts, drug addicts and the aged and crippled whom it would be unwise and risky to allow to mix with the general prison population. This would automatically rid the prison of much of its overcrowding and relieve government authorities of the necessity of building new prisons. There would remain the general prison population. The third group of buildings should be so constructed as to make possible their grouping in minimum, medium and maxi-

imum security buildings. The stress, however, should not be only on secure custody but on the social rehabilitation of the prisoner. The prison must be so planned and organised as to make its internal life as similar as possible to the life outside, so that a reliable estimate of the man's attitudes, tendencies and conduct may be possible. What would be his behaviour upon release? This must be the main question. It is only when the prisoner can show that his behaviour is good in a free environment that he has proved his competence to fit into the world and this must determine his eligibility for release. It is not argued that all prisoners could be placed outside the walls, but the evidence available from other countries like America gives rise to the strong opinion that a larger percentage of prisoners than at present placed outside the walls could be removed to less secure structures without seriously endangering the regime of the institution. The old Bastille type of prison must therefore give way to the minimum security buildings that are easy of construction as well as low in cost.

*Prison Labour.*—The opinion that idleness in prison is bad for both the inmates and the institution has long been held. Prison labour has an important part to play in the reformatory process, but in spite of the fact that in one respect the prison is advantageously placed in that the prisoners do not bargain for a wage scale as do free labourers, the increased congestion of prisons, the continued use of prison plants wholly out-of-date, the comparative inability of penal institutions to keep abreast of the technical changes resulting in lower cost coupled with the acceptance of the idea of competitive enterprise by outside manufacturers and industrial organizations, and the inertia of Government officials, have combined

to make the problem of prison labour more acute and unwieldy. At the same time, with the increase in the size and cost of maintenance of the prison population, some solution of the problem has become more necessary than ever.

It would be in the fitness of things to treat the prison as a community and plan the labour and industry within it with a view to self-sufficiency. To try to make the prison a successful commercial institution would be to standardize its labour and sacrifice possibilities of developing skill, aptitude and interest among the prisoners for the sake of pecuniary gain. The problem of prison labour is finally related to the classification of the prison population, but so far no attempt has been made to recognise this principle in practice. Labour assignments are made with a view to maintaining discipline. Only in rare cases are men provided with work because they can learn anything or on the basis of their previous occupation. Yet in spite of its small population, the prison has within it men of a great variety of interests, skill, background, experiences, capacities and possibilities. The problem, therefore, is one of classification into groups before assignment of work.

No adequate classification of the occupational equipment and background of our prison population is available. It is generally known that a vast majority of prisoners fall into the category of unskilled or semi-skilled workers. By relating the occupational distribution of the prison population to its classification with a view to housing in maximum, medium and minimum security buildings, one can develop different types of employments in different types of institutions. Broadly speaking, prison labour may be divided into the following three groups :—

1. Maintenance and upkeep.
2. Farming, road work, etc.
3. Industrial establishments within prisons.

Approximately thirty per cent of all inmates are employed in maintenance and upkeep. This work should have skilled outside instruction either through correspondence courses or lectures and supervision; a considerable part of it could be done outside prison walls; and the ultimate aim must be to make the work contribute towards future employment after release.

Work on farms for those who come from farms and will return to them is clearly desirable. It has the advantage of breaking the monotony of prison life, supplying the big demands for farm labour and training the prisoners for an occupation in which the temptations and pressures after their release will be less severe. Even here unemployment could be reduced by a diversified agricultural programme, by the keeping of cattle and poultry, by work on land clearings, by renovation of farm machinery and upkeep and maintenance of farm buildings, together with a well-planned course in agriculture by the use of visual and other methods.

If non-industrial labour is provided for those groups who can be housed in minimum and medium security buildings, then the whole problem of prison industry would be greatly simplified. Instead of providing manufacturing industries for all prisoners, they would have to be provided possibly for less than one-third. Even one-third may prove too high an estimate for the number of men who have to be kept in maximum security buildings. The first requirement obviously is to equip the

institution with suitable buildings and modern machinery and to have them supervised by men who are capable of directing the manufacture of goods. The difficulty of finding a market could be avoided by adoption of the "State use" system by which convict-made goods are withdrawn entirely from the open market and disposed of only to tax-supported institutions of Government. For this purpose a staff of sales representatives must go about visiting these institutions to acquaint the purchasing authorities with the goods that are manufactured in the prisons and to learn what others might be added to the list.

Various are the reasons for paying wages to prisoners—to increase their efficiency and interest in the work, to prevent prison-made goods selling below market prices, to make provision for the support of the dependents of prisoners and to secure abstract justice. Some argue that this amounts to paying a person for committing crime. But, of course, it is payment for work during incarceration, not for crime. Others maintain that reward for work should consist in reduction of the period of imprisonment rather than in money, but this by itself is an inadequate method for determining the time of release. If a wage is paid, it should be determined primarily by the efficiency of the prisoner. In actual practice it depends upon the economic position of the institution, which in turn is dependent upon the proper working-out of the prison labour problem. In any case some payment ought to be made, for, after all, the prison inmates cannot be blamed for the incompetence of Government officials in working out the labour problems of the prison.

*Education in Prison.*—The prison population is a body of those persons

who have been condemned as unfit to enjoy the fruits of freedom in a civilized society. The programme of the Government with respect to the convict from the day of his conviction to the day of his release is part and parcel of a process of preparing him for his return to society. The word education in its widest sense may be used to describe the process involved. Consequently, the prison educational programme has a threefold purpose. First of all, it must prevent the deterioration which is an almost inescapable by-product of imprisonment. Furthermore, it must help the prisoner to give up undesirable habits which he brought with him into prison. For this something more is needed than the mere removal of the temptation or opportunity that awakes the criminal response. This leads to the third purpose of education which is to seek to inculcate new habits and interests. MacCormick suggests that prison education should be individualized, adultized, made broad by being inclusive in its offering and sparing in its use of compulsion. The ultimate ideas should be to socialize the individual—that is, to make him fit into the social scheme of things.

A fundamental principle of penology is that the whole programme of penal institutions would be put on a basis of individual diagnosis, prescription and treatment. Various factors enter into the decision as to what any one prisoner can most easily and profitably study: his background, his occupational history, his educational record, his interest and capacity and so on. A comprehensive plan of education must include academic education to give the criminal the qualities of mind and character to engage more earnestly in the competitive struggle for existence he will wage as an ex-prisoner; vocational education to train him for satisfying and lucrative positions on release;

as well as education in personal and community health. The ideal training plan must enable the prisoner to devote at least half his time to practical maintenance and other work which would afford him an opportunity for direct application of what he learns during the hours spent in his training class.

The potentialities of the library as an agency of direct education have not been realized in the penal institutions in our country. The usual prison library is a good-for-nothing collection of books most of which are discarded from city libraries or the homes of well-to-do and well-meaning citizens. It also suffers from lack of reader-stimulation and reader-guidance and there is little beyond routine service. Improvements can be effected by the time-honoured practice of collecting subscriptions and securing donations, especially if the help of the press, fraternal organizations and service clubs is secured. The library should further be placed in the hands of a competent librarian. It should subscribe to as large a number of magazines and newspapers as it can afford and secure an additional supply, whenever possible, by gifts. Entertainments in the form of music, plays, cinema shows and recitals should be introduced.

*Parole.*—For many years prison reformers and students of the problem have felt and recognised the necessity and advantages of imposing restrictions upon criminals released from our prisons and engirdling them with specified rules of conduct to prevent their wrong doing. Parole is a social technique by which these conditions and limitations are placed and by which the prisoner is prepared for his return to the community. Parole solves the grave problem of control of the prisoner without the evils of too long confinement. It is the inescapable out-

come of society's condemnation of the deteriorating effects of imprisonment. In that sense it is a complete repudiation of the prison methods now in force.

How does parole work? The first desire on release of the hardened offender is to rejoin his old gang. Parole prevents this by dictating the place where the released prisoner shall live. An idle man's mind is the devil's workshop. Parole not only finds the released prisoner a job, but compels him to work at it, and if he refuses to do so, sends him back to the institution. While resuming his criminal career the average criminal seeks to hide from the eyes of authority. Parole makes this impossible by compelling him to keep in close contact with the board of parole. Numerous other restrictions are placed upon his daily conduct. The parole authorities see that he does not take to drink, they visit his home and discover whether he is providing for his family, they call upon his employer to find out whether he is regularly on the job.....In short, parole protects and promotes the interests of both the criminal and the community by its close and vigilant watch. It is a constructive process of social rehabilitation.

To work successfully, parole depends upon the following :—

1. Careful diagnosis of prisoners by experts.
2. Selection for parole of only those whose release will not outrage the sense of justice of the community from which they come.
3. Selection for parole of only those inmates the study of whom reveals that they will probably do well on release.

4. Securing of proper employment before the convict is paroled.
5. Placement in proper surroundings. It would be futile to release a prisoner if he is put back in the same filthy and insanitary area which was a breeding place for crime. There must be some social centres, philanthropic institutions, etc., to help the prisoner to return to society.
6. Preparation of the parolee for parole.
7. Careful follow-up is absolutely necessary. It would be a convenient arrangement for one parole officer to supervise all parolees who reside in his territorial division.
8. Co-operation with private and public social agencies.
9. The constituency of the parole board. It should be composed of men of intelligence and integrity who have sufficient spare time for their multifarious duties.
10. Powers of the parole board. The responsibility for parolees should rest upon this board which should be given wide powers to impose terms and conditions of parole and to revoke for violations thereof.

Students of penological problems are becoming more and more alive to the fact that every prisoner who steps out of the gates of our prisons should be released on parole. The mistaken idea that parole is a form of leniency has led to the fallacious conclusion that it should be withheld from those prisoners who have committed



the more serious offences, whereas the truth is that the more dangerous offenders are the ones against whom the community needs most to be protected by a limited form of release and by close supervision after release. The only sane and safe method of making decisions in case of parole is to rely on the cold record before the board, but more weight must be given to the post-criminal than to the institutional record.

Parole is "conditional liberation." When the parolee violates any of the conditions of his parole or commits a new crime, all that is required as the basis of a warrant for re-arrest by the board of parole is reasonable and convincing proof, usually obtained from a parole officer, that he has offended. As soon as convenient after his return to the institution, a hearing is held to decide whether the criminal should be reinstated on parole or sent back to prison.

*Probation.*—Probation is something new in the traditional administration of criminal justice. It is a method of treatment by which the courts, through the personal influence of their agents, seek to supervise and rehabilitate convicted offenders before, and instead of, committing them to custodial institutions. Thus it differs from parole in that it is applied to offenders *before* they are sent to an institution; also in that instead of casting the criminal into prison, the court in some jurisdictions retains the control for as long as a period as it sees fit or as prescribed by law. Parole may be said to be the last rung in the correctional ladder of which probation may be the first.

Probation avoids certain disadvantages of imprisonment. The latter generally has frustrative and disintegrating effects upon individual personality, because all

the criminal's family ties, sympathies and associations are completely cut off. Another disadvantage is that life in a penal institution and the administrative organization which provides him, without any effort on his part, with food, shelter and clothing, may have the effect of weakening his initiative to win these things for himself later on in the outside world. During probation, on the other hand, the probationer is under the supervision of a trained probation officer who is qualified to assist in bringing about family adjustments which may be needed, who can give sound advice in matters of education and employment, who is familiar with the health resources of the community and can marshal them on behalf of his clients and who can effectively guide his charges in leisure-time activities and in self-improvement. Broadly and briefly speaking, it involves the suspension of the case under consideration for a period imposed by the court.

Upon the right selection of candidates largely depends the effectiveness and utility of probation. As a method of treatment it is not well adapted for any and every delinquent person, but the evidence of American prisons makes it clear that with the exception of persistent drunkards, chronic gamblers, sex perverts and the feeble-minded, the large mass of persons coming to court form fit subjects for probation. Perhaps its greatest contribution to the court as well as to the general science of penal and correctional treatment is that it enables the court to throw a searchlight, before passing sentence, upon the individual, social, cultural and moral background of the criminal, his family interactions and relations to the community as a whole. It is able to do this because its officers can win the criminal's confidence and so get him to answer questions of a personal, even a secret nature.

The success or failure of probation depends above all upon the quality of probation officers chosen. In America the first probation officers were volunteers. The work with delinquents, however, requires both continuity of effort and specialized training which few volunteers have the time to acquire. A well-paid, well-supervised and professionally trained staff seems, therefore, to be called for. In a country like India, however, owing to lack of public funds, the system of voluntary service is day by day gaining ground and receiving recognition. The method of employment of these officers varies, but the practice of appointment by the court seems to be the most common, the simplest and most logical. Let it not be forgotten that probation demands officers who have a mixture of kindness and authority, who combine sympathy with insight, who possess an understanding of human nature capable of detecting both good and evil tendencies, who have tact and patience and a wide knowledge of life and whose personality is strong enough to win respect and exercise a beneficial influence upon the probationers. As has been said, what the teacher is to the educational system, the probation officer is to the probation system.

Such, then, are the measures by which it is suggested that the penal system should be reformed. Before closing, we may briefly recapitulate them. The physical conditions of our prisons should be improved ; the prison staff should be armed with adequate powers ; and discipline should be sought to be enforced by creating a congenial atmosphere rather than by irritating rules. The methods of treatment should always be adjusted to the needs and requirements of the individual offender ; special health and other problem groups should be segregated, while the remainder should be housed as necessary in minimum, medium and maximum security buildings. Prison labour, too, should be classified according to the occupational equipment and background of our prison population ; its aim should be to facilitate the prisoner's earning a livelihood on release ; and it should be paid for. Education should be provided to prepare the prisoner for his return to society. Full and adequate use, lastly, should be made of the techniques of parole and probation. These various measures have, as their common aim, the social rehabilitation of the prisoner. If worked in the right spirit, they would enable punishment to fulfil its proper purpose which is the protection of society and the prevention of crime.

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# NUTRITION AND INDUSTRIAL CANTEENS

P. A. BHASKARAN.

One of the major problems of Industrial Welfare Work is the supply of cheap but nutritive diet on the workplace to our workers who are almost always haunted by hidden hunger. In the following article, parts of which appeared in the Indian Textile Journal (September), the writer, discussing the value of food to the working population, outlines the objectives, scope and principles of canteen management in industries

Mr. Bhaskaran (Tata Institute '45) has made a special study of Labour Welfare problems.

The need for improved diet among industrial workers has been increasingly felt in our country, especially during these years of stress and strain when a good portion of our man-power is engaged in what are known as "essential services." Never before, perhaps, has the attention of informed intelligence and government authorities regarding the importance of industrial nutrition, been so keenly engaged as it is to-day. This increasing importance of industrial nutrition has been felt due to the growing appreciation of what some nutritionists call "the sub-nutritive state" or "hidden-hunger" among our industrial Workers. It only means a moderate degree of dietary deficiency of some kind. The body, when it fails to get the right kinds of food to provide it with energy, to furnish materials for building and repairing it and to provide the substances that help to regulate its complicated processes, suffers from "hidden-hunger." The workers who suffer from "hidden-hunger" will tire more easily, will be more liable to suffer from accidents, resulting from abnormal fatigue, will be more susceptible to minor illness and will be prone to have lower morale. Malnutrition wrecks morale and spells defeatism and despondency. Wilder, an American nutritional enthusiast, states :—

"Nutritional deficiency saps the vitality in so insidious a way that the victim may be unaware that enough is wrong to consult a doctor.....  
The minor degrees of nutritional

deficiency although they are not fatal nor incapacitating, constitute the hub of the problem of malnutrition... They undermine the will to do... They seriously depress resistance to other diseases and in women contribute to the concurrence of complications during pregnancy... The undernourished are unable to hold jobs if they find them... They become unemployable."

This, by itself, makes an eloquent plea for the urgent need of improved diet among our industrial workers to promote the optimum efficiency and prolonged psychologic well-being which will result in greater working capacity, fewer absences from work and a decrease in the number of accidents.

Food nourishes the body in three ways. (1) In the first place, it furnishes the fuel to yield energy, which finds its overt expression as warmth and work. (2) Secondly, it supplies the structural materials for the growth and structural upkeep of the body tissues. (3) Lastly, it provides substances, which keep bodily conditions in the right manner, so that life processes proceed normally.

Experts are of opinion that something like 40 nutrients are furnished by the already known food materials to the human body. For purposes of convenience and clarity, we shall follow the conventional four-square grouping of nutrients, namely (a) the Energy requirements, (b) the Protein

requirements, (c) the Mineral or Inorganic elements and (d) the Vitamins. To resort to a mechanical analogy, which is after all only a portion of the whole picture, the human body can be compared to a motor car and the fuel foodstuffs have their counterpart in the gasoline for the automobiles, the protein and some of the minerals to the materials of which the motor is made, the remaining minerals to its lubricants and the vitamins to the ignition sparks whose own energy is insignificant but which perform the indispensable function of keeping the motor running in an orderly way.

(a) *The Energy Aspects of Good Nutrition.*—Every act and moment of our life involves an expenditure of energy and to estimate properly the energy requirements of a worker, it is necessary to allow for the extra calories consumed beyond the fixed working hours and for some of the ordinary pursuits of pleasure and relaxation, which he usually indulges in. Food is the only source which supplies this much needed energy and modern science by the aid of calorimeters, has been able to measure the energy or fuel values of food, with a good amount of precision. That the body burns a little of the foodstuffs to meet the needs of keeping itself warm is anyway a minor factor. For instance, it is calculated, that an average-sized man sitting still or relaxing spends about 65 to 100 calories(\*) an hour and requires only 2,000 calories a day; whereas, in the case of a manual worker an eight-hour use of his large muscles may easily double the day's energy output. The more abundant nutrients or foods which are burned (oxidised,) in the body are carbohydrates, fats and proteins. The importance of milk as a complete food in nature, which protects

the diet from shortage of essentials of food from many angles, can never be over estimated. Milk presents these three organic constituents abundantly and in right proportions as well as some water and mineral matter. It also contains vitamins to some extent, but the amounts of those are too small to be seen in such simple ways as are proteins, fats and carbohydrates. Proteins and carbohydrates occur in many other forms of food, too. In fact, one or more of them can be discerned in almost each and every article, known as food. In wheat and rice flour, so extensively used in our country, the typical carbohydrate and starch predominate. The amount of fats, perhaps, is invisibly small. In meat, distinct layers of nearly pure fat can often be seen by the naked eye. It is calculated that the lean portions of meat consist chiefly of proteins with about three times their weight of water and about 1 % of a mixture of salt. The old idea that a manual worker needs more meat is considered to be erroneous in the light of modern researches. The actual protein requirements of the human body are practically independent of the amount of physical exertion and remain fairly constant for sedentary and strenuous workers, but their total food needs are very different. Work in heavy industries requires a high energy expenditure and then the need for fats, starch and sugar which are the energy-providing substances is greater. Strenuous work, if done under generally hygienic conditions, stimulates appetite and improves digestion and hence more foods richer in fats are taken in by the working class with impunity.

Recent investigations into the field of industrial nutrition indicate that

\* Calorie means the amount of heat required to raise the temperature of one kilogram of water to 10 centigrade.

"frequency of meals" bears an important relationship to fatigue. It is now well known that hunger leads to general weakness, irritability of temperament, diminished ability to concentrate and a disinclination to work. It is reported that there is a distinct rise in the muscular ability of the worker soon after meals. The findings of well-controlled studies prove that the productivity of workers accustomed to 3 meals a day improved significantly when the workers were given additional light lunches in mid-shift rest periods. It may be remembered that there is no violation of the principle of nutrition in providing more frequent meals to the workers. The only thing to be guarded against is that the total daily food intake is thereby not made excessive and the requirements of a well-balanced diet are met with. The food served between meals should meet other qualifications which are important in dispensing supplementary feedings to workers, throughout the plant. Also they should require only little preparation, should be easily and quickly consumed and easily preserved with little or no danger of contamination. They should not come into contact with the worker's hands and must not leave an organic residue to litter the manufacturing areas. These are only some of the main things to be borne in mind in the preparation, preservation and distribution of foodstuffs in an industrial canteen. Those who are in charge of the canteens are also to remember that they have to cater to a wide range of tastes, and success in this lies in keeping foodstuffs attractive and appetizing even after repeated use. The food served should be easily digestible and should not cause gastric disturbances.

(b) *Proteins and their Amino-acids in Food and Nutrition.*—The word "protein" has almost a traditional force in our nutritional terms. It has been coined a

century ago from a Greek verb, which literally means "to take the first place" and was given a name to what was supposed to be the fundamental substance of body tissues.

The main contents of protein are nitrogen and amino-acids, the former forming 16% of the total substance. It is said that a typical protein molecule is so large as to contain hundreds of amino-acids, but usually they are of 20 kinds, of which half alone need be supplied by food, the other half being synthesised by the metabolic changes in the human system itself.

Uptill now, there is no consensus of opinion among experts as to how much protein would be best for each individual to take in, in the interests of nutritional well-being. In our country, wheat, rice and cereals furnish over one third of the total protein of our typical dietaries to-day. In western countries, the idea of enrichment of foodstuffs now current enhances the actual value of, and the confidence in, ordinary white bread. Here, in India too, the nutritive value or nutritional efficiency of the proteins of our grain products is a problem of real importance, awaiting immediate laboratory analysis and research. Several independent experiments have already shown conclusively that the proteins of the whole or unhusked wheat or rice are of much higher nutritive value than white flour or polished grains. The influence of tradition among our people is so strong that even to-day many believe that protein carries all nutritional responsibilities beyond those of calories. Modern knowledge of nutrition has shattered this belief and shown that mineral elements and vitamins are as important as calories and proteins. The best sources of essential amino-acids are animal protein rather than

those of cereal or vegetable origin, because the composition of the former is more nearly akin to that of human beings, and hence they are considered to be of higher nutritional value. For the average adult it is estimated that the sources of protein should be equally divided between animal and vegetable matter.

(c) *The Mineral Elements in Food and Nutrition.*—The development of 20th century science has fully appreciated the idea that the body's framework or skeletal system of bones and teeth owes its strength and normal form to the fact of its being well-mineralised. Speaking from the common sense point of view even, it is not difficult to understand that the chemical elements are the ultimate constituents of which the physical world (both living and non-living) is built. Mineral salts are the things that 'put life into' the proteins of the body tissues and fluids. Small elements of such soluble mineral salts are constantly present in the soft tissues and fluids of the body. But some of these inorganic elements are required by the body in rather substantial amounts, notably calcium, iron, magnesium, phosphorous, sodium, chlorine, potassium, iodine and sulphur. There are also more numbers of other elements to be added to this list of essentials to life, many of which, however, have not been subjected to adequate tests, to determine, whether or not, they should be included as indispensable food elements. Special attention, however, has been paid to four main mineral elements, namely, calcium, phosphorous, iron and iodine, because, optimal amounts of these are least likely to be provided by a hit-and-miss method of food selection.

Calcium and Phosphorous are the outstanding elements of mineral matter in the building up of our bones and teeth.

The soft tissues of the body contain considerable amounts of phosphorous but only very small amounts of calcium. Rickets, so common among working class children in India, is due to low amounts of phosphorous which can be amended by proper food supplies. But calcium deficiency is a more important problem in nutrition, because it results in a shortage of bone-building materials. In our usual dietaries themselves, there are adequate amounts of phosphorous present without any special planning on our part. But calcium deficiencies in nutrition are much more important and there is no good way of detecting them, especially in the initial stages. Still, present day knowledge of life-time relationships has made it abundantly clear that most people are born calcium poor. By this, it is meant that the human body at birth has not only a much smaller amount but also a much smaller percentage of calcium than the normal fully developed body contains. There is no doubt that the characteristic of being born with soft flexible bones has a survival value for the human species, for it renders the process of giving birth easier and safer. Having born thus safely, the calcium contents of the body have to catch up promptly and concurrently with the other aspects of its development and this requires an accentuated need for calcium, compared to the other body-building materials. An adequate intake of calcium produces a gradual decalcification of the bones. Fractures occur as a result of insignificant little jolts and tumbles, particularly among adults of middle-age and above. A weak skeleton is a hazard even in the ordinary pursuit of life, not to speak of the strenuous industrial occupations. To prevent this, the best thing is to supply the body with liberal amounts of calcium and phosphorous. Of the ordinary foods not one is

superior to milk as a source of calcium or phosphorous. A pint of milk per day for every adult would be most helpful in fulfilling these requirements.

The results of what are known as "Calcium Balance Experiments" on animals have made it abundantly clear that a liberal amount of calcium intake through food is increasingly beneficial both to the development of the young and to better health and longer life in the adult. A liberal amount of calcium in the food results in a better development of the internal structures of the bones, particularly in the porous ends of the long bones, where it means a greatly increased surface of bone mineral in contact with the circulating blood and, therefore, a much more prompt and effective restoration of the blood calcium to full normal concentration even after all the many small wastages that occur in everyday life as well as under various conditions of extra work have taken place. The more quickly and completely the blood recovers from every decline in its calcium content, the better the body maintains its highest degree of health and efficiency. In our country milk and green vegetables are the chief sources of dietary calcium. Surprising as it sounds, there are countries using bone as food to make up calcium deficiency.

*Iron.*—There is no need of special planning so far as this particular mineral is concerned, since natural whole grain or enriched or restored breadstuffs and cereals occupying their full normal place in our food habits and dietaries containing other foods which we generally use will usually furnish enough iron. The only individuals who need more of iron are anaemic patients and they should be treated as a medical rather than a normal nutritional responsibility.

*Iodine* enters the body almost entirely

as iodide, through drinking water and table-salt. Refined salt is essentially sodium chloride alone, since the purification of salt results in nearly a complete loss of the iodide which was naturally present. Iodine deficiency can best be guarded against by the use of iodised salt. Sea-food in the diet too supplies ample quantities of iodine. The daily iodine requirements of the adult are approximately 0.045 mg. The thyroid is capable of storing excess iodine and for that reason iodine need not be present in the daily diet. Sodium chloride is one of the specific concerns for certain group of industrial workers. For example, the fact of workers engaged in occupations resulting in profuse sweating leading readily to heat cramps or exhaustion is associated with serious salt depletion. The loss of salt is greatest during initial exposure to heat. Iodine tablets are now available in the market and an effervescent drink with iodine salt duly sweetened can solve this problem.

(d) *Vitamins.*—The idea has been so much before the public that a formal introduction to the vitamin family is superfluous. Though called by a group name, they are not a natural and closely related group and merit individual study and judgment as a nutrient. Each member of this indispensable group has its own part to play and excess of one will not compensate for the deficiency of another. Vitamin deficiency is a form of malnutrition. Deficiency diseases such as pellagra, beriberi, scurvy and rickets are found to be caused by this. Modern scientific research into this field has revealed more subtle forms of diseases too. Slowly accumulated evidences indicate that inadequate diets may be responsible for such symptoms as easy fatigue, indigestion, loss of weight, depression, retarded learning, interference with vision and lowered resistance to disease. Stomatitis, dental caries, chielitis,

glossitis, and bleeding gums are evidences of malnourishment seen daily by the dental profession.

It is not easy, nor is it necessary, for an article of this type to go into details regarding each and every one of the vitamins. Modern scientific tendencies are to give each of these substances a distinct and independent name, when sufficiently acquainted with its chemical nature. The use of alphabetical sequence is only a device for convenience.

*Vitamin A* is a colourless fat-soluble substance occurring to an important extent in milk, eggs, fish liver oils, the livers of other animals, leafy green vegetables, dried apricots, etc. It incidentally contributes to that alertness so necessary for safety in the workshop. A lack of Vitamin A results in the retardation of growth and dryness of the skin. It is essential to the maintenance of the normal cellular structure and function of the body's internal and external surface membranes. Vitamin A shortage can result in injuries of the mucous membrane in any part of the body and troubles in respiratory, digestive and excretory systems. It has been also found to result in "night blindness"—a diminution of one's ability to see in a dim light or to adapt one's vision to a change of intensity of illumination. Recent reports from America that the keenness of the sight of aviators and industrial workers has been increased, and the night accidents of the automobile industries decreased, by the use of diets of higher Vitamin A value, though lacking in the conclusiveness of laboratory findings, bring us some important suggestions. Interesting and impressive evidences on the constructive side are also available through well-controlled experiments on rats (who resemble human beings very closely in their reactions to Vitamin A) is a large

factor in the building of hitherto accepted normal levels of performance to better health and longer life. Experiments on growing boys have also shown that the entire Vitamin A lends an extra impetus even to an already normal rate of growth and development. It may be remembered in this connection that the much popular term "Protective Food," to milk, fruits and vegetables has been attributed by Mc Collum, because of their high Vitamin A values.

*Vitamin B1 (Thiamine)* is essential at all ages to the right use of the fuel foodstuffs, particularly of the carbohydrate. Shortage of this particular vitamin results in the circulation of deleterious products of incomplete oxidation in the blood and usually leads to the failure of appetite and an onset of functional disorder. The prevalence of beri-beri in our country, especially in the South, where people predominantly live on rice may be attributed to this.

*Vitamin B2 or G (Riboflavin).*—This is "the second member of the B group of vitamins" and an important factor in the oxidation of enzymes (organic substances formed in living tissues and functioning by favouring or expediting—stirring up or speeding up—some of the natural chemical reactions that are involved in our nutritional and other life processes) of our tissues and in the maintenance of their stamina and resistance to strain and to several diseases. Pellagra can be easily conquered by riboflavin. Milk forms the best source in this case too.

*Vitamin C (Ascorbic acid).*—The name ascorbic acid is given to Vitamin C, because it is the substance which prevents scurvy and cures it with dramatic promptness, if it is not too far advanced.

"It is essential to the integrity of the cement substance which lies



between the cells of the body's various tissues and keeps each cell properly set and supported for the performance of its part in the work of the body. This involves, among other things, the prevention of haemorrhages or oozing of blood through tissues, which due to a shortage of Vitamin C occur in almost any part of the body ; the maintenance of healthy conditions of the gums and teeth ; the development and maintenance of right relations between the ends of the growing bones of a matrix suitable for normal calcification within each bone ; the prevention of some forms of anaemia ; the regulation of heart muscle or muscle tone generally."

There are interesting indications to show that Vitamin C has an important part to play in what has been attractively called "the preservation of the characteristics of youth." It resists toxins formed by certain species of bacteria.

Vitamin C is a substance which is easily decomposed, especially when heated in contact with air and with catalytic substances which increase the rate of oxidation. Short-time cooking in copper vessels with little or no contact with air is the best method to retain Vitamin C.

Two more important facts about Vitamin C need to be noted.

(a) Some foods hold their initial Vitamin C value much better than do other foods, e.g. Tomatoes are much better in this matter than other foods like cabbages.

(b) Apples and potatoes, though not outstanding in their Vitamin C contents, being extremely popular, can be considered as a good source, provided they are taken in, in abundance and handled properly. Apples may be eaten raw and in season.

Potatoes should be cooked with little contact with air and eaten with as little delay after preparation.

*Vitamin D (The Antiarchitic Acid).—*It is a fat soluble substance which prevents rickets. As to the sources, it can be found to some extent in egg-fat and milk and in much greater concentration in fish-liver oils. Compared to the last, the first two are negligible. Direct sunshine or artificial light containing suitable ultraviolet rays produces Vitamin D in the human body.

*Other Vitamins.*—Much is yet to be known about the Vitamin family. There are some more members added to the B group, and E and H also have been found by experts. Mention may be made in this connection of what is known as Niacin (Nicotinic Acid) which is said to have powers of killing pellagra. It has been found capable of curing the black tongue in the dog. But it should not be forgotten that curing the symptoms does not restore the pellagra patients to full health. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Niacin deficiency is a part of what is wrong with pellagra patients.

*Poly-Vitamin Preparations in Industry.*—It is only a simple fact that good nutrition must be based on a good diet of natural foodstuffs. It is not advisable to assure the industrial workers indiscriminately that they can obtain optimum nutritional health through the ingestion of a certain number of vitamin capsules regularly. Distribution of polyvitamin capsules or synthetic vitamins, without proper guidance, is not at all advisable ; for :—

"Supplementing the diet with synthetic vitamins fails to make provision for deficiencies in protein, fats, carbohydrates, minerals and the numerous necessary factors which have not been made available in crystalline

form, but are nevertheless essential for the maintenance of health."

True, under certain conditions, it may not be advisable to depend upon the available "natural foodstuffs" alone for all the essential food factors. It is best to fall back upon the recommendations of the U.S. Department of War Food Administration, so far as this matter is concerned. In very eloquent terms they declare, that "Where there exists an excessive loss of salts or vitamins from the body, where energy output and, therefore, metabolic requirements for these substances are extraordinarily high, or where therapeutic amounts are indicated, the need for the administration of available foods may be present...Again, where the available food supply cannot be depended upon to satisfy even the average requirements for certain essential food factors, either because of deficiencies in supply or due to irremediable losses in the storage, transportation or preparation of foodstuffs, indications for the use of food concentrate or synthetic vitamins may be present... Such conditions should be defined by a trained dietician or a plant physician."

In the prophylaxis of vitamin deficiency diseases, foods naturally rich in vitamins such as "Yeast liver, certain fish liver oils, and wheat germ" are considered preferable to the synthetic vitamins. Wherever possible, such foods should also be incorporated in the therapy of nutritional diseases along with sufficient amounts of the indicated synthetic vitamins.

Having seen the four-squared aspect of nutritional values, it becomes imperative for us to consider the proper groupings of foods with due regard to their nutritional values and their place in the diet. Food should not be merely a substance just to stop persons from being hungry, but it should be capable of helping the

individual to grow up. This brings us to the idea of the "Balance Diet." But it does not in anyway hold that every time we prepare our food there should be an actual weighing of the food materials and their mixing up in the right proportion. The human system is able to tolerate occasional variations in the diet. The only thing we have to guard against is a long-continued excess or deficiency of one or more components which will impair the working of the human system. Tables of a balanced diet in India with due considerations for moderate expenses, which the average labourer will be able to afford, are now available in many publications on health matters in our country, such as those of the Bombay Presidency Health Week Association, the Health Bulletins published from the Government of India Press, etc. It may be worthwhile for us, within the scope of an article of this type, to enunciate some of the broad principles of such a grouping rather than enter into a discussion of accurate details. It can be best done by quoting the seven-fold classification of the U.S. Department of War Food Administration. Preceded by the admonition to eat at least one food from each of these groups and followed by the remark that 'then you may eat any other food you like,' the classification runs thus :

- (1) Green and yellow vegetables.
- (2) Oranges, tomatoes, grape fruits, or raw cabbage, or salad greens.
- (3) Potatoes and other vegetables and fruits.
- (4) Milk and milk products—fluid, evaporated, dried milk or cheese.
- (5) Meat, poultry, fish or egg—or dried beans or nuts or peanut butter.

- (6) Bread, flour and cereals—natural wholegrain, enriched or restored.
- (7) Butter and fortified margarine (i.e. margarine with added Vitamin A.)

Enriching of bread by using skim-milk is a recent process adopted in nutrition policies. 6% as much skim-milk powder as flour can be used in bread making, with distinct nutritional advantage and no detriment to the physical properties of the bread. Diaries better balanced from the view point of the newer knowledge of nutrition have enabled factory employees to work with higher efficiency and less fatigue increasing both the quality and quantity of their output, with fewer accidents to themselves and their material.

*Some Specific Nutrition Problems in Industry.*—To-day a large portion of our industrial population carry their meals in lunch "dubbas." Tradition has a great sway over the regulation of the food habits in our country, and the pity of it is that they go by caste, community and even region. True it is, that some of the Indian Industries have made an attempt to provide some in-plant feeding through canteens. But the extreme poverty of the workers, coupled with the lack of provision and low quality of the food served in the all-too-meagre existing canteens, necessitates the labourers bringing their meals from home. In large and extensive plants, a single cafeteria is inaccessible for the major population in the factory, within the short time of the lunch period. Even when good combinations are available in some of the canteens, a large percentage of the workers are found to choose luncheon combinations that are poorly balanced. This undesired ration is partly due to the

faulty food habits of our people and partly it is stimulated by disparity in prices. Milk, fruits and vegetables in our country remain the food of capitalists and spiritual aristocrats, and it is far from the reach of an average labourer's economic means.

Poverty of cooking and serving facilities in the rapidly expanding plants is another important problem we have to face. This situation is further aggravated by the low-grade restaurants which spring up around the factory, over which the management has no control. The culinary facilities in the homes of the workers are grossly inadequate and it is not uncommon that workers come to the factory without any breakfast. It has been authoritatively stated that one half of our fuel is eaten up in the form of sugar and bread. To this may be added the refined fats which make up two-thirds of our energy intake in the form of "inert calories" furnishing fuel only and nothing else. In a large majority of cases amongst the working classes, the limited food budget is spent unwisely along with the prevalence of fixed or faulty food habits.

These findings referring to the factory and home, make it clear that while nutrition remains a family and individual problem, it is as well an industrial problem. There are a number of ways in which industrial leaders can help to improve the nutritional status of all their workers.

*Three Main Lines of Approach.*—The three main lines of attack in the improvement of nutritional standards through industrial canteens can be directed towards (1) Education, (2) Provision and (3) Economy.

(1) *Education.*—The recommendations of the National Research Council in America can be profitably adopted in our country with certain modifications to suit our

requirements. The gist of the recommendations can be listed thus :—

- (a) Employment of a trained dietician for supervision in the factory canteen and advice to the worker's family.
- (b) Introduction of information about nutrition in plant publications.
- (c) Use of pay-envelope slips, listing items of good food of high nutritional value, which are in season or in the market, available at reasonable prices and within the reach of the average worker.
- (d) Placing artistically written posters emphasising the importance of good nutrition or capable of creating an interest in good food habits at strategic sites about the plant, where employees usually pass or wait in line. (It may be noted that materials capable of evoking a personal interest and periodical changes in the slogans or cartoons may be particularly effective).
- (e) Free distribution of pamphlets and bulletins on Health and Nutrition matters to the workers.
- (f) Conducting classes and demonstrations by the dietician and other nutritional experts for the worker and his wife.
- (g) Maintenance of cafeterias, where foods of high nutritional values are served attractively so as to make the labourers appreciate their gustatory possibilities and nutritional worth.

- (h) Helping the employees in growing vegetable gardens in their homes and on company-owned properties is another avenue of approach. Their efforts may be encouraged and aided by contests, classes in gardening and by collective purchase of tools and seeds. The State department of Agriculture should tender advice and all possible assistance to the workers.

(2) *Provision.*—Industry should take a keen interest in the type of food served in the plant at mid-day lunches and any supplementary feedings furnished in between meals. The meals served in the plant should at least contribute one-third of the specific nutrients. Vegetables and salads should be prepared in an attractive manner and with minimum losses in their vitamin and mineral contents. Enriched white bread and whole grain products can be extensively used. Special lunches emphasising the use of alternative foods (e.g. bajri, jawar, maize etc.) can be offered at slightly lower than the prevailing prices to increase their acceptability. A wide variety of the so called "protective foods" such as milk, fruits and vegetables should be made available to all the labourers throughout the factory, through travelling wagons, at or below cost to encourage their consumption in preference to non-protective foods.

The aesthetics of food also is a point worthy of consideration in this connection. In combining the menu, the observance of the psychological factors which influence the appetite and making the diner satisfied with the appearance and flavour of the food served, are important matters. A little stretch of imagination on the part of the dietician can easily accomplish

this. Menus with a limited number of choice which are varied from day to day are found usually more desirable by workers than a frequent repetition of dishes and a "sameness" produced when a large number of food choices are used daily. Frequent changes of menu have an element of surprise which adds interest to the food selection. Some broad suggestions in obtaining satisfactory combinations may be noted down below, which can be adopted with slight adaptations as warranted by local requirements and tastes.

- (a) Planning wholesome nutritious meals that appeal to the eye, stimulate the appetite, satisfy the hunger and give pleasure to the diner.
- (b) Seeing that good menu planning goes hand in hand with good cooking to produce foods which are appetising and in which food nutrients are conserved.
- (c) Balancing the flavours of the menu—e.g. accompanying a bland food with a savoury one; serving strong-flavoured food with a mild-flavoured one; enhancing the flavour of a neutral food with an acid one, etc.
- (d) Contrasting soft foods with crisp, crunchy ones. At least one food in the menu should be crisp.
- (e) Varying the shapes of food served in the plate as e.g. avoiding several round mounds of foods or two or more squares in one plate.
- (f) Combining colours harmoniously—e.g. using yellow, green

or red food to contrast with white or neutral colour combinations etc.

- (g) Seasoning bland food with piquant flavouring by the use of articles such as tomatoes, onions, etc.
- (h) Seeing that the vegetables on the menu are cooked just until done and served immediately to preserve their colour, flavour and vitamin contents.

Success of such a food combination policy requires a mental selection of foods that taste and look well and the using of imagination how food will look when served, and taste when eaten. Such forethought on the part of the dietician will save many on unpalatable meal from being cooked and served only to be wasted largely.

The length of mid-shift meal periods is another problem to be considered. A minimum period of 30 minutes should be provided by the factory; 15 minutes for the actual consumption of food, and the other 15 as an additional allowance for toilet preparations, changing clothes, going to and from the cafeteria, luncheon room or canteen and the time spent in food service line. In large plants the overall length of the mid-shift meal period can be kept to a minimum by a decentralisation of eating facilities through the use of mobile kitchens and canteens, stationery canteens, strategically situated lunch-rooms, etc. Where distances from the work-room to the canteen are too great, hot meals must be brought by means of pre-heated food conveyors and served to workers in areas set aside near their work-centres. These food conveyors should run on a definite time-schedule to permit

the optimum usage of a lunch period at each station.

“Between-meal” rest periods and refreshments is another matter meriting attention. A rest pause of 10 minutes each, with an opportunity to obtain refreshments during the middle of the first and second half of each shift, is an effective means of combating fatigue, decreasing accidents and lost time and sustaining promotion. The foods offered during the rest periods must be such as would permit a ready service and digestion, with a minimum amount of preliminary preparation on the part of the worker. Milk, citrus fruit juices, tomatoe juice, fruits and sandwiches with enriched or whole-grain bread with substantial fillings are satisfactory foods for between-meal lunches. It is important to be borne in mind that coffee and tea, although stimulating for a short time, have negligible food value in them, even when taken in with cream and sugar.

Women workers in industry, by virtue of their biological and psychological make-up, deserve special consideration. Curiously enough, several dietary surveys of industrial workers are all in agreement as regards their findings that the eating habits of women are worse than those of men. Plants employing large numbers of women should be particularly careful to make adequate provision for their nutritional requirements. An active nutrition education programme also should be instituted in their favour. The employment of women workers in night shifts is not yet a problem in India. In the west, women with domestic duties as well as young girls are employed in night-shifts too; and in the former it results in the break-up of the family ties, whereas in the latter the loss of sleep affects their growth.

(3) *Economy*.—It is imperative that good meals must be provided at reasonable

prices for a successful nutritional programme. To achieve this, all cafeterias, kitchens, lunch-stands, etc., should be under plant management and should be run on a non-profit non-loss basis. A canteen should not be a means of obtaining funds for employee functions or benefits or any other extraneous purpose. It has been found that cafeterias, rolling kitchens or lunch-stands operated by concessionaires—whether it be a private company or an employee's benefit association—were generally less satisfactory than the management-owned ones. The reason perhaps for this is their policy of “we give the men what they want.”

A well-trained dietician managing the canteen can keep down the cost by intelligent marketing. Having the knowledge of when and where to buy as well as understanding the quality and nutritive value of foods is a phase in a dietician's professional training and is of particular value in low cost feeding.

The employer also can help a great deal in bringing down the cost of maintaining a canteen. In plant-owned and employee-managed lunch-rooms or canteens, the management usually provide space and basic equipment and can also subsidize those services such as heat-light and water. Even otherwise, effective management and a large turn-over will make the canteen “pay its way” to meet all the overhead charges from the takings. It is best that an employee elected committee assumes responsibility for the operation of the food service employing its own commissary manager.

*Conclusions*.—Canteen work should be recognised to be a very “tough” one. It calls forth immense energy, staying power and continuous good-temper. Cooking is a job that has to be learned

and practised as any other skilled technical job in the process of industry.

An inspiring and instructive Health Education Programme should be undertaken for the promotion of better nutrition in collaboration with a number of national agencies, both public and private.

Last but not the least, is the general atmosphere prevailing in the canteen and its psychological reactions on the worker. It must be remembered that the workers enter the canteen not as servants but as their own masters, as customers and not as employees. The discipline enforced on them should be voluntary and of a purely social nature and should not be extraneous and coercive. Intelligent and sympathetic management can create a sense of belonging to the factory and of

self-respect in the worker's mind by tactful handling. The practice of putting up notices regarding canteen matters can be cited as an instance in point. It should be free from all tinges of authority and command. Terms like "workers must" should be judiciously avoided and must be substituted by pleasant polite wordings like "customers are requested" etc. In short, the canteen should be run on a thoroughly democratic basis giving the employees a free hand in the management of its affairs. Democratically elected committees and their periodical meetings with a view to eliciting suggestions of improvement from members can go a good way towards success. The only thing to be borne in mind is that complaints and criticisms should be followed by constructive suggestions.

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## NEWS AND NOTES

### REFORMATION AND REHABILITATION OF VAGRANTS IN CALCUTTA.

The Rotarians of Calcutta had been trying for sometime past to make Calcutta a cleaner City by eradicating the "Beggarmisance" from its streets. It was mainly through their efforts that the Bengal Vagrancy Act was passed in Sept. '43 and a few Vagrants Homes are started by the Government of Bengal, and they have begun to function in the suburbs of the City for 4 Categories of Vagrants, viz., (1) Non-leper male adults, (2) Non-leper male children, (3) Non-leper female adults (4) leper male and females. Government are also considering about expanding the last named three Homes. The Vagrants Homes are unique establishments of their kind and are reformatory in nature. As they are the products of the efforts of the Rotarians of Calcutta, it won't be out of place here, to briefly narrate their working methods.

A year and a half have passed since the starting of the Homes and though this period is quite small one to warrant any sound deductions, yet it will be useful to recount our method of work and our achievements, and the actual extent of grounds covered. In the earlier stages we found (and still we find), that the vagrants in their untutored native state are mischievous and malicious to the core, down-right liars, and are of very objectionable filthy and foul habits of extremely revolting nature. They would not hesitate in the least to stoop to any kind of dirty tricks such as befouling the very spot where he himself or others have to stay, eat or sleep, pilfering or tearing to shreds neighbours' clothes, beddings or other petty belongings without any provocation whatsoever, etc. Besides

the above-mentioned and thousand other vices, they were found to be devoid of any sense of dignity and self-respect. In fact, they were (and are) the most anti-civic persons imaginable. In such circumstances it was not wrong to deduct that the adult vagrants were beyond reformation. But now through experience we find that given the sympathetic opportunity, patient understanding and a simple but disciplined and methodical training, many of those lost souls are reclaimable. Of course this holds good for able-bodied vagrants only ; because unless one is blessed with physical soundness, how can one translate his educated and useful thoughts into action and shape ? Nevertheless, from amongst the physical wrecks also, greatly handicapped though they are by their inherent infirmities, there are found some, who by virtue of their greater aptitude, show signs of remarkable improvement in the matter of healthy and dignified outlook on life. Really it a pleasant surprise for us all to learn that Man's potential capacity to learn from a newer angle of vision of life is inexhaustible and many of these unfortunate folks, able-bodied or otherwise as stated above, slowly show signs of eagerness, lackadaisical and half-hearted in the beginning and genuine afterwards, to learn something vocational and useful for earning honest living to maintain themselves honourably without resorting to the detestable act of begging.

This leads us to the question of what and how we teach these "down-and-outs" of our society. Before considering this issue it is better to bear in mind that the main objective of all good education, through University or otherwise,



is to teach and train the pupil in "Good Citizenship." With this fundamental principle and basic truth in view, we try to train the beggar-inmates of our Vagrants Homes into good and honest workers. In this our attempt of reforming and remodelling, we find it necessary also to kindle in them the light of knowledge and appraisal of their own modest worth and dignity in their proper setting. This is calculated to create confidence in their own selves. And this business of creating confidence in one's own honest worth and that to be real and lasting, is not a very easy task, and then there is the risk of its ending into boasting, which, of course, is taken cognisance of and discouraged from the beginning. In respect of education, the Bengal Vagrancy Act, Section 13, proviso (1), runs like this :—".....vagrants homes may include provision for the teaching of agricultural, industrial or other pursuits and for the general education and medical care of the inmates."

The method of training in the light of the remarks above, adopted in our Management at present, is as follows :—

With gentle admonition and mild enforcement of discipline, we try to instill in their mind the love and respect for Punctuality and Work, at first. Love and respect for neighbours' rights and privileges are also taught to be cultivated. These principles, simple though they appear to be, are not very easy things for these most anticivic persons to follow. With difficulty and patience, however, they are made to practice them. They are being taught the arts of reading, writing and of a few simple crafts, such as, rope-making, masonry, simple wood-repair-work, gardening, etc. Spinning cotton into thread and making nets etc., out of it, is also in our curriculum. Comparatively simple industries like Hand-loom-weaving,

carpentry, smithy and shoe-making are considered for starting. For quick broadening of their mental outlook, we arrange to teach them through regular storytelling many important topics of the moment. We also arrange to entertain them as often as possible, with some interesting small cinema shows, for which our thanks are due to the Director of Public Relations Committee. Occasional peripatetic simple and instructive discourses on principles of civics, hygiene and public-health are also arranged. Bratachari dance and exercises and other simple games such as, Ha-do-do-do, Blindman's-buff, Badminton, etc., fill up the recreation period of their not-too-lazy days. The above principles are generally followed for all vagrants but in lieu of some of the out-door and masculine items, the women vagrants exclusively are given the training in darning, hand-sewing, laundering, grain-husking, nursing, child-rearing, etc. For Children Vagrants, reading and writing, physical exercises, outdoor games, hiking and educative excursions in batches, are some of the special and principal items. The above-described varied yet simple, i.e., not-too-difficult-to-execute curriculum is prepared and adopted for the training of the convicted vagrants. The conviction of vagrants being of the nature of Preventive-Detention, the retributive punishment is conspicuous by its absence in these Homes, unlike the Jail system. Our method of training being simple, sympathetic and disciplinary, is quite able to vitalise the imagination of our charges and thus they are slowly finding that they, after all, are not useless creatures, but on the contrary, they are the proud inheritors of the right to contribute their own quota, however humble it may be, to the growth and maintenance of the social order in which they are born. Thus with the quickening of the sense of discipline and respect

for work and of love and regards for neighbours quite a big percentage of our confined vagrants are showing good signs of improvement and are eager to be "rehabilitated" or rather successfully instituted or established in life in proper places in Society.

Now, it may appear from the above report that as if by the magic touch of our methods the dirty, lousy, lazy and loathsome beggars or vagrants are being transformed into angels overnight. Nothing of that kind happens, and our report would be a gross travesty of truth, if we maintain that all vagrants are redeemable. It is not so. Notwithstanding the above-mentioned efforts on our part and various amenities etc., devised and offered for their training and improvement in the most suitable environment possible under the existing circumstances, there are bound to be some who make quite a percentage, that are impossibles and will wear hang-dog look or whine to go back to their filthy and lowdown manner of living. They are the incorrigible lost souls. But their existence cannot damp or deter our purpose and progress, which, in general is so very hopeful and encouraging, if not spectacular.

A few words about "figures" now. With the help of the Calcutta Police, the Receiving Centre and the Magistrate's Court of the Control of Vagrancy Department, have, uptill 31st March '45, brought to book 3122 vagrants of all categories. Of that total number, uptill that date, 945 died in the Home Hospitals; 280 were sent to outside Hospitals, (mostly to Campbell Medical School & Hospital), for treatment of such diseases as Cholera, Smallpox, serious cases of Dysentery or other grave and complicated cases; 430 have been repatriated; 51 escaped; 200 released on surety bonds and 30 have been

provided with jobs; the balance 1186 in number was the total remains in all the Homes uptill that date. From the above figures surely it will appear that the deaths were very many; it was exactly so and this leads us to the causes of that enormous death-roll.

When the Homes were started in August 1943, Bengal was in the grip of the grimmest and direst of famines she ever experienced; so, the poorer folks from country-side hungry and helpless turned beggars wholesale and began to pour in, in endless streams into the streets of this great City for succour. Many of them, almost dead due to starvation or due to bowels-troubles arising out of their eating inedible things, were picked up by the Police and whoever of them found begging for long were declared vagrants by the Court of this Department and were sent to the Vagrants Homes for being taken proper care of. It was this famished lot that swelled the above death-figures; the percentage of their deaths was as high as 20% of a month's total admission! Of course, that famine condition does not exist now and that kind of enormous death-roll in the Homes, is also a thing of the past. The present death rate is almost nil in Homes where there is no room for new admission due to lack of further accommodation and in Homes where newer entrants are being taken in, the death rate is varying according to the number of new admissions between .4% to 1.5% per month on the population. This, in my humble opinion, is quite a normal state of affairs.

Now, a few words about Repatriation, Rehabilitation, and After-care. As already stated above, during the last  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years of existence of the Homes, 430 vagrants have been repatriated after being reclaimed and taught. It is not unlikely that quite

a few of that lot may again resort to vagrancy sooner or later, but we are convinced that the major bulk of the repatriated or rehabilitated ones, will establish themselves in due places of their spheres in society, as honest neighbours and good labourers with regenerated courage of conviction and sense of dignity. The 30 persons, so far, who have been provided with jobs, have been fixed in various walks of life befitting them. Majority of them are doing well, but a few have escaped from such places of safety also. The 200 persons, who have been released, have been set free against surety-bonds of Rs. 200/- each, furnished by their well-to-do relations or by persons interested in their welfare, under pain of forfeiture of the same amount and recapture of the released offender if he or she resorts to vagrancy again. Here also some slips are brought to our notice occasionally. But the magnitude of the sum total of our success, phenomenal though it may not be, is quite encouraging and thus, more than amply justifies our efforts and activities for the reformation and uplift of these luckless vagrants.

It has been noted above that a large proportion of the beggars respond to the simple, sympathetic and organised discipline and slowly develop a willingness to work. It may be interesting to note, —and it is well-worth remembering,— that the study of the life-history of these persons invariably goes to show that besides the work-shy and lazy ones, by

far the majority of them resort to vagrancy due to unemployment or to extreme unremunerative nature of their callings of choice. From this it appears that to crown our attempts to stop begging with success, we must, of necessity, have to find suitable employment for all. In his "Reflections on Revolution of our Time," (p. 226), Prof. Harold Laski has very rightly observed : "Human nature rationally speaking is inborn of the historic environment in which it is found ; it adapts itself to the environment and the way to change its expression in behaviour is to change the environment to which it is adapted." It is needless to remark that the above observation is pregnant with vital truth and thus it will be clear that the only way to cure our social evil under discussion, is to change the environment of which the economic structure is the pivot. If our society or State can guarantee work for all,—Indolence, Squalor, Idleness and Vagrancy can be forced out and eliminated easily. In other words, to make our contemplated Rehabilitation Scheme a real success, our social structure must provide work for all with living wages. This is by far the greater issue and in this vast country of unemployment, how that can be achieved, is a proposition bristling with many puzzling problems of world-wide implications, the solution of which will depend on the well-balanced deliberations of the Economists and Statemen, from time to time.

AMOBENDRA SAHA.

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#### HEREDITY VS ENVIRONMENT

Hidden behind the confusion of world conflict is a still-unsolved scientific problem to which a definite answer must be obtained before the human race can settle down to a rational solution of its difficulties.

The problem concerns the extent to which two principal factors, heredity and environment, are responsible for the present welfare and advancement of the human race.

There are principal schools of thought, each going to an extreme viewpoint and each, as a result, being only partly right. One credits good environment with being the factor that is responsible for creating excellent qualities in the individual and the other gives credit to inheritance.

A highly significant long-term research project which should give some decisive answers to moot questions in this field has been undertaken by the Rockefeller Foundation, which has appropriated \$282,000 for the first five years of an investigation that will be carried on at the Roscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory at Bar Harbor, in the State of Maine, in the United States.

Studies will be carried on to determine the genetical basis of personality traits in mammals, particularly intelligence and emotional variations. The purpose of the investigation is to gain knowledge that will be applicable to human problems, but it will be necessary to make the experiments with animals, as human beings grow too slowly and cannot be subjected to the rigorous conditions of control that it will be necessary to impose to study the effects of single factors.

Dogs of many breeds will be studied in the early part of the investigation, which then will be extended to sheep, goats and other animals. Dr. C. C. Little, director of the Roscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory, announces, out of this laboratory have come researches which give support to both schools of thought. One inquiry, for example, resulted in developing a breed of mice that was entirely free of cancer out of a strain in which cancer was the principal cause of death. This was done on the basis of the gene and chromosome theory of inheritance. Another inquiry demonstrated that at

least one form of cancer is transmitted through the nursing milk and is entirely independent of the genes and chromosomes, putting it more in the field of environment.

The dog, Dr. Little points out, presents an excellent subject for study, for this species contains a vast array of varieties and strains all of which trace back to an original wolf ancestor. Man throughout the ages, with only an intuitional knowledge of the laws and mechanisms that control the transmission and creation of physical and personality traits, has altered the descendants of the wild wolf until a great number of breeds have been produced, all varying in size even more important, exhibiting a tremendous range of highly specialized patterns of intelligence and emotional response.

It is these highly specialized emotional patterns and intellectual capacities that Dr. Little intends to investigate to ascertain whether they are linked to the genes and chromosomes or whether they have some other origin. Extensive experiments have been made previously in the Stockard laboratory at Cornell on the inheritance of physical traits and on the production of dogs of amazing shapes and sizes.

Many dogs will be isolated shortly after birth and raised in soundproof and odorproof compartments in which they will see no other dogs or even human beings. This will be the foundation state from which experiments will be made on individual and social behavior and the effect of both genetical and environmental conditions.

The effects of internal environment, the conditions in the mother's body during the prenatal period, will be studied. This will involve transferring the ova from the body of the dog in which it was

produced to that of another female in which it will complete its prenatal growth. Artificial fertilization also will be attempted, as this will give a further check on both genetical and environmental factors. Gregory Pincus succeeded in producing a rabbit that had no father and, in a more limited way, no mother. The ova was taken from the body of one rabbit, artificially fertilized by chemical processes, and transplanted in another rabbit.

“Neither heredity nor environment can go very far without the other, declares Dr. Little. They are not mutually exclusive. If the tiny centers of chemical organization known as *gones*—the basic unit of heredity

—had no living organism in which to express their directive powers, they would be incapable of description, measurement or identification.

“If, on the other hand, living material grew and multiplied without the directive hand of heredity there would be no permanency of the various forms of life and the course of evolution would not be possible.

“Human life as it can be measured and recorded consists of a partnership between the two forces of heredity and environment. There is plenty of room in our definition to include non-material or spiritual forces.”—JOHN J. B'NEILLUSIS.

#### A SYLLABUS FOR ADULT EDUCATION CENTRES

1. The following syllabus has been prepared keeping in view Gandhiji's idea of adult education through creative and recreative manual activity including crafts. Our aim is to give the adult learner an education which will make him (i) a better craftsman and (ii) a more effective member of society and (iii) help him to use whatever little leisure he has, with profit and enjoyment. Through such education the adult student must learn to participate more fully and intelligently in the life around him.

For the adult learner there are three major centres on interest: (i) vocational, (ii) social and (iii) recreational. In his education, therefore, all these three interests must be integrated and correlated to one another. The starting point of such education will be the individual, rich in his experience of these three aspects of his life. His normal daily activities will provide the material of his instruction.

2. The method of approach and instruction has a special importance for the adult learners. Adult education is

essentially an individual affair. Here, as elsewhere, personal contact with the students is not only important, but essential. Such contact should be intimate; and it should extend over a sufficiently long period of time in order to leave permanent impress on the personality of the students. The seminar and discussion method is therefore the best. Lectures may serve only to create a general interest.

3. The syllabus is spread over three years,—the minimum period an adult learner should be in touch with a centre. He is expected to attend four days in the week and for four months in the year. On each working day the session will extend over a period of 90 minutes at least. For outdoor games, where these could be organized, extra time will have to be provided.

4. Naturally education will be closely related to the adult student's usual manual activity and his individual and social life. In addition he may choose a subsidiary

manual activity either for vocational or recreational purposes.

In actual instruction such subjects as concern the learner more directly and to a greater extent than others will be taken up first and they will serve as the basis for further correlation.

5. The following will be the subjects and activities taught :—

- I. Manual activity, main and/or subsidiary.
- II. Personal and Community Hygiene, including First-Aid and Home Nursing.
- III. Social Studies, Civics and General Knowledge.
- IV. Introduction to Science.
- V. Music, recitation and dramatics.
- VI. Games.
- VII. Mother-tongue.
- VIII. Mathematics.

In the above list Personal and Community Hygiene might have been well included under Social Studies ; but in view of its special importance it has been treated as a separate subject and its scope has been widened to include First-Aid and Home Nursing.

A good deal of emphasis will have to be laid on item No. V (Music, etc.). These activities will not only provide the element of joy but they may also serve as the starting point for other educational activities.

Formal work in literacy and Arithmetic should be started preferably in the second half of the first year after the adult learners have found interest in their work.

In the following syllabus there has been no attempt to indicate the sequence of topics in different subjects, for, excepting in language work and Arithmetic, such order is not essential.

With regard to these two subjects the proper sequence of topics will be indicated.

The objectives of the different subjects are indicated below :

#### I. Manual Activity, Main and Subsidiary.—

Except in ideal circumstances there will be very little opportunity in the adult education centre to practise the craft of the student fully or in all its bearings. For example, practical agriculture cannot be fully undertaken in the centre but there are other subsidiary activities which may be undertaken. These may be practised for their vocational advantages. They may have recreational advantages too. The main objective is that these activities will help the student to improve the quality of his vocational work. Making of compost, selection of seeds are activities subsidiary to agriculture. There may be small-scale demonstrations of these activities in the centre. Spinning may be regarded as a supplementary activity ; but none of these will ordinarily come under recreational activities. Use of colours for drawing designs, however, has both vocational and recreational advantages for a weaver. These illustrations will indicate clearly the position of crafts ; i.e. manual activity, in the scheme of adult education.

#### II. Personal and Community Hygiene.—

1. To develop a sense of cleanliness of the body, the home and the village.
2. To teach how to render first-aid and use simple remedies for common ailments, and protect oneself.

3. To develop an understanding of purity of conduct as a preservative of health.

If, as a result of studying this subject, the standard of conditions in the family and in the village does not improve, the course will be deemed to have failed in its objective.

### III. *Social Studies.*—

1. To develop a sense of citizenship and a broad human interest in the progress of mankind in general and of India in particular.

2. To develop a proper understanding of one's social and physical environment and to awaken the urge to improve it.

3. To develop those individual social virtues which make a man a reliable associate and a trusted neighbour.

4. To develop mental respect for all religions.

### IV. *Introduction to Science.*—

1. To arouse interest in and curiosity about laws of nature as affecting human life in different ways.

2. To foster an intelligent interest in science in general, specially in the aspect of it which affects the daily life of the students.

Introduction to science should be made primarily with the help of those illustrations of scientific principles which affect the daily life of the student. The romantic aspect of science may also be exploited occasionally. The study of science should give the student some insight into laws of nature. He should be made to understand how science has influenced and transformed modern life.

### V. & VI. *Music, Games and Dramatics.*—

1. To cultivate a love for beautiful music as a healthy leisure-time occupation.

2. To develop interest in dramatic literature.

3. To cultivate some hobby.

4. To develop the habit of taking regular physical exercise individually and taking part in group games collectively.

The ultimate objective will be to enliven the village life. The culture of music should not be confined to the centre only: it should go to the individual homes.

The final object is to rebuild the recreative life in villages. Group games will play an important part there. National games should be preferred to games requiring costly materials to be indented from outside.

### VII. *Mother-tongue.*—

1. To develop the capacity to *Speak* lucidly, coherently and confidently about the objects, people and happenings of one's environment and on any given topic of every-day interest.

2. To develop the capacity to *read* silently, intelligently and with speed written passages of average difficulty. The capacity should be developed to such an extent that the adult learner may read with understanding and enjoyment newspapers and magazines of every-day interest.

3. To develop the capacity to *read* aloud both clearly and expressively.

4. To develop the capacity to *write* legibly, correctly and with reasonable speed; to describe in writing in a simple and clear style every-day happenings and occurrences as well as to write personal letters and business communications of a simple kind.

VIII. *Mathematics.*—

1. To teach quick methods for solving problems arising out of the daily life and occupation.

2. To impart a knowledge of elementary business practice and book-keeping.

3. To impart a knowledge of the elements of mensuration and practical geometry.

*Detailed Syllabus.*—

I. The detailed syllabus in the major and subsidiary crafts cannot be given here. These details will depend on the activity chosen and also on its nature, whether it is taken as a major or subsidiary craft.

## II. Personal and Community Hygiene :—

1. Health, its meaning and significance.

2. The healthy body ; its organs and their normal functions.

3. How diseases spread, the story of germs and bacteria ; common disinfectants ; ventilation, sunlight, purification of water.

4. Certain common diseases and their prevention ; inoculation, vaccination.

5. Personal cleanliness, care of teeth, nails, daily bath, food and sleep.

6. Communal cleanliness—community water supply, market conditions, latrines.

7. First-Aid (Practical) ; use of common drugs and medicines.

8. Nursing.

## III. Social studies, Civics and General knowledge :—

1. Study of the district ; its general topography ; geographical and administrative divisions. Places of importance, historical, commercial or religious markets.

A map may be used but before it is used some idea may be given of plans, for which settlement sheets may be utilized.

2. The village administration. The old system and the new. Union Boards ; Voting ; District Boards.

3. How the Government administration works. The rights and duties of the individual.

N. B.—This should be taught in the concentric method, i.e. from No. 2 above we may proceed to the district, division, province and so on,

4. Story of other lands, England, China, Japan, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., Turkey.

5. Heroes of the world of all times, including great religious reformers, scientists, explorers and statesmen.

6. Short history of the national movement in India, Hindu-Moslem unity and the problem of the Untouchables and the States.

7. The story of trade and commerce. How jute from the village reaches distant places, say, New York.

8. Study of current events through newspapers.

9. Some interesting places in India :—

(a) Places of pilgrimage, how to reach them.

(b) Calcutta, Bombay, Madras.

(c) Delhi, Agra, Madras, Amritsar.

10. Individual, family, group and state. Elementary ideas of inter-relation. Responsibilities arising out of inter-relation. Individual's rights and duties, family life, its essential duties. Parenthood, its sacred obligations. Individual as a member of group. Group loyalties. (The items will be discussed in small groups.)

11. A beautiful home. Its plan and arrangements. Decorating a house.



12. Co-operation, its principles and practice as applied to the major craft of the learner.

IV. Introduction to Science :—

1. The story of great inventions.

- (a) Gas engine.
- (b) Electricity.
- (c) Telegraph and telephone.
- (d) Wireless.
- (e) Gramophone.

2. The story of the sky and the solar system.

3. How plants live and grow.

4. The human body and how it works.

5. (a) Animals and insects in the locality and their ways of living.

- (b) Care of domestic animals, their common diseases.

V. Music, recitation and dramatics :—

Selected national songs and bhajans for community songs such as the Ramayana. Short folk dramas, preferably composed by the students themselves.

VI. Games, Indoor and outdoor games, Individual and community games.

VII. Mother tongue :—

No detailed syllabus is needed. Reading materials may be chosen keeping in view the objectives defined above. Selection may be made from newspapers, great epics, and popular songs and dramas for this purpose.

VIII. Mathematics :—

The four compound rules, family budgeting and book-keeping, price calculations.

ANANTHNATH BASU.

### MUSIC REHABILITATES WOUNDED U.S. SOLDIERS

It would be an admirable thing if, during or after a musical season of the usual round of performances, compositions, and amiable academic discussion of the latest bad book on the history or criticism of the art, the participants were to visit a military hospital where music has an imperative part to take in the restoration of men's mind as well as bodies—"reconditioning," we believe, is the professional word—and giving these men not only solace and entertainment but the will to return to life and creative effort in a grateful society.

This last objective is perhaps the most significant feature of the exceptionally extensive program of music given at Halloran General Hospital on Staten Island, where Gen. Ralph G. De Voe is commander. It is given under the direction of the Red

Cross in co-operation with the Army authorities and other contributing organizations, and it is highly representative of the whole principle of healing which operates at that institution.

*Problem of Reconstruction.*—For the reconstruction of physique and morale of the sick and wounded from the battlefronts of the world is far more than a simple medical or surgical problem. The great hospital is in two principal parts, or, it may be more accurate to say, separates in two main divisions the men as they arrive for care. There are the ambulant cases and those nearest recovery in one general classification, and there are the most serious cases of men who are bedridden or in traction, and face permanent disabilities, some of them terrible. But whereas in a former day such cases were viewed as

irremediable and incapable of alleviation, the entire theory is one of progress and improvement, and the development of interests and muscular activities which in greater or lesser degree can be stimulated. Here is where music, with other arts and skills, proves of the greatest value and aid to the convalescents.

For the men who must lie immovable the entertainment features of the music program are of principal interest. To such entertainment the most famous soloists and ensemble organizations contribute. The patients in the beds with head-sets for listening, as well as the audiences which assemble in the big auditorium, hear soloists all the way from Frank Sinatra to Fritz Kreisler and Yehudi Menuhin, ensembles from the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra to the most illustrious of the dance bands and the like—to say nothing of the best theatrical shows, whose ministrations include such attractions as “Oklahoma !”

The value of this entertainment is the greater for the fact that the men only listen to what they must want, and not to what some well-meaning authority has told them they ought to want and “appreciate.” The same thing holds true of the various radio programs and the library of records. The men are placed in propinquity with all kinds of music. They find out what ministers best to their entertainment, and nature takes its course—almost always, under these circumstances, in the direction of masterpieces.

*Active Participation.*—But it is where they study and participate, however amateurishly, in the performance of music that the most thrilling sights are to be seen. They offer the same spectacles as the courses in wood carving, photography, pottery and allied

subjects that absorb the energies of many convalescents. One glance at the way these men work and their absorption in their tasks tells more than many paragraphs.

*Soldiers as Students.*—We have ourselves, on occasion, benefited by authoritative instruction in music, or sat in at master classes given by internationally famous teachers. But it is a new sensation, and a very moving one, to watch a soldier with an iron collar studying a simple page of quarter and half notes ; deciphering them with a teacher's aid ; playing the notes, first in the right hand in the “treble” clef, then the left hand in the bass ; then together in octaves, and then essaying a short piece with a different part for each hand. “How about chords ?” you ask. “Oh yes,” says the teacher, “he knows chords. Play some.” The man does that with the grin of a Cheshire cat. “Next time,” says the teacher, “we begin to use the chords with the tunes.”

In another room is a jam session ; a willing lady playing a popular air on the piano ; a soldier in hospital robes singing the words ; two soldiers fresh from the combat theatre, one with a snare drum that seems part of him, another with a guitar waiting for a favorable moment to strike in ; two others with a trumpet and saxophone respectively, fingering their instruments, afraid of playing for company, and anxious for us to get out. So we did. Promptly hell broke loose behind us, but it was a considerably better hell than the one the men had come from. Or so the sound indicated !

In the next room a violin lesson was going on—a duet for violins, unaccompanied by Telemann. The teacher was coaching each player in turn for the big moment

of combination. This is usually a good idea with amateurs, as all abandoned players of two-piano music will agree.

*Encouraging Results.*—To go through those studios, and see men alert and energetic with objectives that stimulated them, in place of the lassitude, acquiescence, or resignation of the convalescence of other days, was to feel the presence of hope and courage, and to esteem, more than words readily express, the

workers, and the directive heads who made that possible.

The teachers are from the ranks of leading musicians of the city. They give a day each week to these classes. They try first to forget their theories, to tackle the new pedagogical problems in the most direct, practical and adaptive ways. Results are what count, not methods.

OLIN DOWNS, USIS.

### CORRECTIONS

*In the article on "Can India be United?" published in the last issue, the following corrections to be made:*

Page 73, Col. 1, Line 35 :

delete "at least for India"

Page 75, Col. 1, Omit Note (C)

Page 80, Col. 1, at the end of Item (J) add :

"Similarly such adjustments between other units could be made if general opinion favours changes of this nature in order to make any particular alternative or alternatives more acceptable".

## BOOK REVIEWS.

*The United Nations of the World.* By HABIDAS T. MAZUMDAR. Universal Publishing Company, New York. 1944 (2nd Ed.) Pp. 288, Price \$ 2.50.

This book was written before President Truman came to power and before the atom bomb and the consequent surrender of Japan. The author who is excessively in love with America and the "American Way of Life," fondly believes that the New World is destined to lead humanity to the haven of peace and brotherhood ; and he persuades the Allies particularly to recognise this destiny and behave accordingly, i.e., nobly and magnanimously with reference to the defeated enemy and to the colonials.

According to the author we are on the threshold of a new world order ; by the way, this is what every writer of every generation proclaims, and God and the devil alone know how many thresholds we have to pass before we enter into the parlour ! The writer says that the Declaration (by the United Nations of the World) signed in Washington on the 1st of January 1942, by twenty six nations of the world is of momentous significance as it has brought into being the United Nations of the World. "The United Nations of the World, (U.N.W.) represents the logical culmination, on a worldwide scale, of the United States of America" both in function and pattern. The importance of the Declaration itself is in its utility as "an unrivalled peace instrument." The writer regrets the omission of Burma from the Signatories and expresses misgivings at the dubious position of India in the Atlantic Charter. His critique of the Atlantic Charter and of the Declaration by the United Nations of the World contains outspoken views. Referring to Churchill and Hitler the writer correctly observes : "It is fortunate for the human race that these

two leaders cannot get together ; otherwise the world might have groaned under inconceivable tyranny and ruthlessness." But it is curious that Roosevelt and Churchill got together, but with what advantage to the Eastern World time alone can show.

Touching the "strategy of world reconstruction" the author holds that "the problem.....that faced the American people during and after the Civil War (1861-1865) are exactly the problems, albeit magnified a thousand fold and on a world scale, facing mankind today." Lincoln's approach to reconstruction then was—1. malice towards none ; 2. charity for all ; and 3. chivalry towards the vanquished. With these principles he achieved and preserved the union of the American States amidst the conflicting races and ideologies. Adopting the same principles the statesmen have to secure and preserve the union of the Nations of the World.

But looking to actualities the author notices many paradoxes in the political world. Among the nations there are the "haves" and the "have-nots," the bigger ones distinguished by their power to inflict injury upon others. Many yet cling to the philosophy of brute force. And there is imperialism, brazen faced, but thorough in its exploitation of the colonies ; there is the hypocritical superstition of the "white man's burden," etc., etc. The author convincingly exposes the kinship between the Empire System and the Fascist System.

What is the writer's way towards world peace ? Holding that "Regionalism

is the logical extension of nationalism even as nationalism was the logical extension of provincialism," he envisages a world order based on the union of five regions : 1. the Pan-American ; 2. the Pan-Eurasian or the U.S.S.R. ; 3. the Pan-Asian ; 4. the Pan-African ; and 5. the Pan-European Regions. "Each of the five Regions would be a federation of constituent nations," and each Region would be a continental sovereignty guaranteeing self-government to its national units. The five regional sovereign ties, taught by the very futility of violence, should decide to ban the use of force ; and then shall dawn on mankind the final blessedness of universal peace—"peace on earth and goodwill among men." This, indeed is a bright vision in which most imaginative children and divine philosophers have often indulged. Though the author has given us a few details as to how this grand scheme may be worked out it is useless to criticise a plan—perhaps a hope—which is based on the logic of exhortation. We can only say, "May this be ; amen !"

The one great defect of this book is the author's exceeding love of America and President Roosevelt (may his soul rest in peace!). In some instances as when the writer declares, "I would choose to live in the American world in preference to all the rest of the world," his exuberance reaches giddy heights, and the reader feels the sensation ! We who live after the days of Hiroshima, after the fate of Korea, Java, Indo-China, Burma, etc., etc., are weary of jejune dithyramb and academic ecstasies. The world has moved away from Lincoln's way of forgiving the enemy and is reaping the bloody harvest of "War Criminals." All we can do is to exclaim with mingled emotions : "Oh, Roosevelt ! Oh, Truman ! Oh, Muzumdar !"

The seventh chapter of the book contains an excellent exposition of the philosophy and technique of satyagraha. It is the most constructive part of the Volume. On the whole the book may prove useful in creating "international mindedness" among people.

M. V. MOORTHY.

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*Children in Soviet Russia.* By DEANA LEVIN. Orient Publishing House, Benares, 1943, pp. 196. Price: Rs. 2.

Writing of the aims of Soviet education Miss Levin who has taught in America, Europe and Russia points out how education seeks to fulfil the double purpose of qualifying the individual for work and of educating him for leisure. The curriculum of the ten-year school includes physical and natural sciences, history and geography languages, sports and gymnastics, music and arts.

"The Soviet system of education insists that every child go through the complete seven or ten years of schooling."

Skipping from one class to another or dropping of subjects is not allowed. No choice of subjects is given to children until they have passed through the stage of compulsory education. "On completion of the seventh class the pupils have the choice of passing into the eighth class and so go on up to the tenth class, or of entering some technicum, where, in addition to a general course of education, there is definite specialisation. While studying at a technicum, the student receives a monthly stipend and the possibility of living in a hostel."

It is not, however, the mere framework of education, that is important, but rather the spirit and the efficiency with which it functions. The teachers in a school approach their work as a co-operative undertaking. In their meetings which are held almost every week they discuss each other's methods, review the progress made by each teacher in his work, and set up new standards and goals for further attainments. The chief characteristic of these meetings is the frankness with which the work of every teacher is criticised and the equal open-mindedness with which the particular teacher accepts criticism. After her first experience of such a meeting Miss Levin returned home thinking, "So Soviet teachers confessed their weaknesses openly—was this not really a better way to success?" Yet the object of these meetings is not only to criticise but also to appreciate. And with what readiness the appreciation comes! Not only the colleagues but the inspectors and the trade unions seem to be on the look out for any new point of interest that may be adapted with benefit.

Besides the groups of teachers in each subject there is the central trade union of teachers with its local district branches. The trade union is a kind of a fairy god mother to its members. Every school has its trade union committee. It has three elected office-bearers—the chairman and two co-workers. One of these co-workers looks after the progress of the members in their work. Trade union members often enter into socialistic competitions between themselves on some agreed points—eliminating of poor marks among one's pupils, being prepared for one's lessons, coaching every weak pupil, maintaining model note-books, doing social work for the improvement of the trade union, etc., etc. The first co-worker who looks after the progress of members has

to keep a record of the marks scored by each one of the competitors and to declare the results at the end of the specified period. The co-worker who looks after cultural work has to provide facilities for study for those who desire them, to provide facilities for recreation, and to encourage every one to read newspapers and keep up with current events. The trade union committee is sometimes called upon to arbitrate between a member of the trade union and the administration. Even in his private life the teacher finds his trade union coming to his aid. It arranges for him his holidays and trips; it helps him in finding his children creches and nurseries; and gives him a hand in meeting any difficulty that he may face.

The efficiency of a teacher, however, depends not only on his own efforts but also on the co-operation he receives from his pupils. The Soviets have developed a unique method of evoking this helpful response from the pupils. The method is not one of examinations and punishments but of a more constructive type. It consists in encouraging and allowing pupils to improve themselves through their own organisations. The Pioneer movement which in some ways is much like the Scout movement, has for its aims the all-sided development of its members—development outside the school as also in the day to day work of the students. The teachers' trade unions find a helpful component in every school in the local committee of Pioneers. The leaders of the Pioneers in every school are entrusted with the responsibility of helping in raising the standard of studies and in developing self-discipline among the members of the organisation. Through socialistic competitions between one class and another the efficiency of the members is sought to be increased. Every child is eager to be a Pioneer, and once he is a member,

would suffer any punishment rather than be deprived of his badge. There are regular meetings of the local committees of the Pioneers where previous work is reviewed, future plans are discussed, members who have failed to keep their pledge are reproved, and after several warnings are punished with dismemberment. At these meetings even the teachers are criticised for any of their fault and the general opinion is conveyed to the teacher concerned.

The organisation helps in developing sociability, self-discipline and sportfulness in the members ; but, what is more, through the enjoyment of free initiative and the shouldering of responsibility a new generation of leaders receives its training in organisation and work. The Commissariat of Education helps this organisation in all its activities—the organising of study circles, art groups, camps, exhibitions, recreation, etc. Every school has its “wide variety of circles and groups which go on after school hours and which any child who wishes may join.” There are special dramas and plays produced for children at which representatives of children from schools are invited and are asked to give their opinions and suggestions before the shows are finally opened for all. Naturally every suggestion and criticism is not accepted but this contact enables the producers to know what the children feel and helps them to the the task of giving children what they understand and enjoy.

Besides the teacher and the pupil there is a third party that must co-operate in this undertaking of education if its purpose is to be served. This party is the parent. In the Soviet Union every parent is expected to keep closely in touch with the schools of his child. “There is a parents’ committee which is elected yearly by a general parents’ meeting, and which plays an important part in the life of the school. This committee appoints parents to take duty in school at recreation time and in the dining room and serves as a check on the work of the school in general. Parents are allowed to attend lessons and discuss them with the teachers afterwards. If, on the other hand any parent is found to be neglectful of his duties towards his child the school authorities may inform the trade union to which the parent belongs ; and the trade union in all such cases takes prompt notice of the parent’s failure and warns him.

Such then are the efforts made by the Soviets in organising a new system of education to fit into the structure of the new society that is being evolved. The reader does not feel surprised that Miss Levin who went to Moscow as a visitor should ultimately have decided to settle as a naturalised citizen of Soviet Russia.

Miss Levin’s style is characterised by simplicity. It is a style that is at once personal and objective.

M. S. GORE

*The Reddis of the Bison Hills.* The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad, Vol. II. By CHRISTOPH VON FURER-HAIMENDORF. In collaboration with Elizabeth von Furer-Haimendorf, London: Macmillan & Co., 1945, Pp. XVII+373; with 84 half-tone illustrations, 19 drawings and 5 maps. Price: Rs. 20/-.

*Tribal Hyderabad.*—Four reports by CHRISTOPH VON FURER-HAIMENDORF, Hyderabad: The Revenue Department, Government of H. E. H. the Nizam, 1945, Pp. 211. Price Rs. 8/-.

When by a kindly accident of fate, Dr. von Furer-Haimendorf and his wife returned to India in 1939, wisdom in the highest quarters enabled them to stay in Hyderabad and so to lay the foundations of ethnography in the Deccan.

The first fruit of their research was published in 1943 and was the first of a series of monographs dealing with the aboriginal tribes of Hyderabad. *The Chenchus* gives a careful and systematic survey of a tribe of primitive food-gatherers and thus places on permanent record one of India's earliest forms of culture. Its text is vividly written and is reinforced by magnificent plates. But besides fulfilling all the demands of science it is also marked by an anxious care for the welfare of the tribe itself and one of its most important chapters deals with the measures needed for raising tribal morale and ensuring conditions for further life in the forest.

It is this fusion of anthropology and administration which characterises Dr. Haimendorf's two latest works. *The Reddis of the Bison Hills*, written in collaboration with his wife, presents all the facts of Reddi life which are necessary for ensuring the wise administration of a forest tribe. *Tribal Hyderabad* on the other hand exposes all the defects of a Government which is not in sensitive contact with the governed. The horrors to which a tribal people can be subjected are here recorded with painful exactitude and it reflects the greatest credit on H. E. H. the Nizam's Government that with a view

to creating public opinion in favour of measures for tribal welfare, it has published this exposure of its own subordinates.

What are the essential problems of tribal administration? As Dr. Haimendorf shows, a simple and illiterate race is always at the mercy of those who are unprincipled and astute. In the case of the Reddis, exploitation came both from timber merchants and from the petty officers of Government.

'Originally,' says Dr. Haimendorf, the Reddis were cultivators and were perfectly able to subsist on the produce of the soil, and it is only during the last two or three generations that they have begun to work in the forest, cutting bamboo and timber for contractors. Now all Reddis in the vicinity of the Godavari work for merchants throughout the year, while the importance of cultivation is declining. The amount of work executed by Reddis is very considerable, for, unlike the Chenchus and other jungle tribes in the hunting and collecting stage, they are used to consecutive work. The bamboos and timber which they fell are of great values and they should, therefore, have improved their standard of life by taking to this kind of work; actually they seem to be no better off than those Reddis who subsist only on cultivation.

The reason for this was that by unscrupulous accounting combined with the exercise of force the Reddis were 'the personal property and an article of trade'



of the merchants and Dr. Haimendorf is even able to cite an example of the sale of one group of Reddis by one contractor to another. 'The primary concern of the merchants is to keep the Reddis and Koyas so subdued as to submit without question to their will. Their system of control is largely based on terrorisation and they have various ways of making opposition to their rule extremely dangerous to a Reddi or Koya. They withhold grain during the rains, when it is most needed, refuse to pay the land revenue, or even resort to physical violence.'

In this state of terrorisation the police subordinates were the natural allies of the contractors. Besides sharing the same desire to make illicit money they have the same contempt for aboriginal ways of life and thought.

From the side of Government, the main agents of oppression were the Patwaris and forest guards, who habitually demanded sums far in excess of Government dues.

To remedy this state of affairs, Dr. Haimendorf advocated the strictest control of timber merchants, the employment of aboriginals as state servants and the organisation of the tribesmen on co-operative lines. He also urges a simplification of administration and points out the virtues of the Assam system 'where all power lies in the hands of the Deputy Commissioner, who administers the country through responsible tribal representatives and combines the offices of Taluqdar, Tahsildar, Superintendent of Police and Divisional Forest Officer. The co-ordination of various departments in the pursuance of a consecutive policy towards aboriginals is a difficult task, and while the aboriginal can comprehend the authority vested in one person of personal influence and prestige as well as

sympathy for his needs, he does his best to evade the demands of the numerous subordinates who appear to him to be natural enemies.' It is this identification of the tribesmen with their own government, the reduction of 'administration' to the barest minimum, the replacement of petty officers by the aboriginals themselves that in the Santal Parganas and elsewhere has ensured the greatest well being of the aboriginals.

It is highly gratifying that as a result of Dr. Haimendorf's arduous tours much of the petty oppression in the Reddi country has ended. The former timber merchants have been banned and under the guidance of the Swami of Parantapalli, a member of the Ram Krishna Mission, many Reddis are now securing much greater returns for their forest work.

'The result of this co-operative experiment,' says Dr. Haimendorf 'seems to prove that my estimate of the possible results of the co-operative exploitation of timber and bamboos by Reddis was not unduly optimistic. Its effect on the general atmosphere in the villages concerned has been far-reaching. The Reddis, who two years ago wore little else than a few tattered rags, now all possess dhoties and shirts, and their women, proper saris, though they do not wear this fuller dress when at work in forest and fields. They are evidently better fed, and *jawari* has entirely replaced the pith of the *caryota urens* palm. In Parantapalli itself there are no more acute cases of yaws, for during the last years the Ashram arranged for a doctor to visit the village and give the full course of injections to sufferers. More important than this material progress is, however, the psychological change in the Reddis. The freedom from oppression and debt has made them more self-possessed and cheerful, and they work now with the

consciousness of reaping the full fruits of their labour. One may argue that it is unnecessary or in bad taste to make aborigines wear caps and sashes on which are imprinted the letter 'OM' such as the Swami gives to the Reddis working for him, but this is a small matter compared with the concrete benefits the Reddis have derived from the Ashram's activities. At present they do not interfere with tribal recreations like singing and dancing but they are making an attempt to discourage the Reddis traditional form of marriage by capture, and it is in pursuance of this ideal that the Swami allocates money for wedding feasts from the public purse. A point in the Ashram's propaganda with which I am personally in disagreement is the insistence by the Swami on the replacement of animal sacrifices at tribal ceremonies by offerings of cereals and coconuts. But there is as yet no attempt to dissuade the Reddis from eating meat or from keeping any particular domestic animal; indeed, it seemed to me that there are now-a-days more pigs in Parantapalli than there were before.'

These results have been secured by two measures—positive action by H. E. H.

the Nizam's Government in removing sources of oppression and constructive service by a selfless Swami. It is clear, however, from Dr. Haimendorf's account that while this solution has undoubtedly improved the economic condition of the Reddis it is very far from being ideal. The Reddis have already had to pay a small price in minor distortions of their tribal culture and as the years go on, it is only too possible that the price will go up.

Bertrand Russell defined the good life as one inspired by love and guided by knowledge. It is evident that the Swami is inspired by love but guided by doctrines. Such doctrines however noble can never be a substitute for knowledge and aboriginal administration will only be wise when officers themselves combine the love of a Swami with the passionate tolerance, the understanding knowledge of a Haimendorf. Meanwhile, as a fascinating document of a small but important tribe, *The Reddis of the Bison Hills* will do much to influence policy and stimulate constructive thought.

W. G. ARCHER.

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# RESCUE HOMES FOR WOMEN IN BOMBAY

MISS G. R. BANERJEE

Of the rehabilitative measures for women who are sex-delinquents Rescue Homes are one of the most important. In this article the author analyses the existing conditions of the seven Rescue Homes in the City of Bombay, plans for their improvement in the light of their drawbacks and suggests setting up an All-India organization for the moral welfare of women.

Dr. G. R. Banerjee ( Class '44 ) was awarded a Research Scholarship for the year 1944-45 for a special study of rescue work for women in India.

Society seems to have taken measures from very ancient times to levy social penalty on women for their sexual lapses, without giving them a chance, at least in the beginning, to regain their lost status. The early Christian idea of mortification of the flesh for purification of the spirit encouraged stern social condemnation of sexual immorality. Not only was the woman affected, but her innocent offspring was branded as an illegitimate child. This led to infanticide and child exposure in the middle ages. So the Church had to take steps to care at least for helpless infants and as early as in the sixth century foundling asylums were established in Italy and in course of time in all large cities of Western Europe. No attempt was, however, made by society, not even by the Church, to give protection to women who had gone astray, with the result that very often they resorted to prostitution or were taken advantage of by ruffians on the streets. Disturbed by these conditions, some Roman Catholic nuns started caring for these unfortunate creatures by about the seventeenth century. They gave them food and shelter and tried to reform their souls by presenting to them the ideal of renunciation, and also to settle them in honest professions. For a considerable length of time the rehabilitation work of the Roman Catholic Church stood practically alone. The rapidly growing interest in social problems in the second half of the nineteenth century led to the founding of many humanitarian and charitable organi-

zations in different parts of the world. Various rehabilitation institutions or Rescue Homes that we find scattered all over the civilized part of the world are either institutions managed by religious societies with branches in several countries, as for instance, Good Shepherd Homes, Houses of Bethany, Homes of the Salvation Army ; or by secular bodies, private or public as Prophylactoria in Soviet Russia. Before making a detailed examination of Rescue Homes in Bombay we should do well to glance briefly over similar institutions in foreign countries.

To begin with Rescue Homes maintained by religious bodies, a characteristic type of Roman Catholic rehabilitation institution, is the Good Shepherd Home. Founded in the middle of the seventeenth century, it now has ramifications throughout the world, maintaining as it does over 300 houses, managed by about 15,000 nuns. In the best organised house there is a separate observation section in which new arrivals remain for about two months. Then they are classified into naturally depraved, capable of reform and reformed. The last are gradually brought back to freedom by being placed in conditions of semi-freedom and allowed to work outside the Home. Obstinate depraved cases are sent to various state establishments meant for disorderly females. Each of these classes is housed as far as possible in a building separated from the others by a large courtyard or

garden. The Homes endeavour to create a family atmosphere. Illiterate women are taught to read and write. Those who are better educated are required to make a mental effort in other directions. All are provided with interesting work. The Houses of Bethany have the similar purpose of rehabilitation of released women prisoners, and the moral regeneration of those who have acted wrongly or dishonourably but who have not undergone imprisonment. They differ from the Good Shepherd Home in that there is no distinction in them between the rehabilitants and the rehabilitated. Mention must also be made of the Institute de St. Marguerite de Cortone at Antwerp on account of its excellent methods of classification, re-education and treatment of venereal diseases. These are but three of several Roman Catholic Homes.

As regards Protestant Homes, rescue work among women was one of the earliest tasks to which the Salvation Army set its hand. A Rescue Home was opened at Whitechapel in 1884 which was the nucleus of the present agencies called Industrial Homes spread in every part of the world. Inmates are taught to regard the Institution as a real home and to turn to its officers for advice and guidance in any difficulty. Many of them, when they leave the Home for an occupation, become salvationists. No reference is made to their past life and no distinction is made between them and other members of the Army. This attitude towards the past the Salvation Army shares with the Houses of Bethany. There are many other Protestant Homes like St. Micheal's at Mamaroneck in America, and Homes run by International Federation for Aid to Young Women in Europe.

Apart from these Homes run by religious societies, there are some managed

by non-religious private bodies. One of these is Conde de Agrolongo founded in France in 1923 by a feminine association. Contrary to the practice of most other institutions, this does not refuse abnormal inmates but has reserved for them a separate department where they are dealt with by different methods. Another is Abri Dauphinois near Grenoble (France) intended specially for adult prostitutes. Jewish associations have Homes in different countries for Hebrew women in moral danger. The Magdalen Benevolent Society runs some Rescue Homes in America. The Ati-Soetji Society maintains some institutions in the Dutch East Indies, the Po Leung Kuk Society in the Straits Settlements. Homes in the Federated Malaya States are under the supervision of the Protectorate ; so is the Po Leung Kuk Home at Johore in the Unfederated Malaya States. A Sinhalese lady runs the Jayasekhara Home in Colombo. Private organizations carry on similar work in Burma, Japan and China.

Examples of Rescue Homes managed and financed completely by the state are the Prophylactoria in Russia, started in 1923, and now existing in all large Russian towns. There are work rooms attached to a Home or a medical hospital where workless, venereally diseased, fallen women, mainly prostitutes, are admitted. They are given professional training for an honest means of livelihood as well as a literary training, cured of their disease and re-educated in a proletarian spirit. All work done by the inmates is paid on principle to the amount of 75 per cent. Thus they get the chance of saving some money which may be of help to them when they leave the institution. The authorities see that on being discharged from the Homes they are well settled in an honest profession, for instance, in factories.

In India also the problem of sex-delinquency among women has never been uncommon. In the Vedas, the earliest records of Hindu civilization, prostitution is frequently referred to. We find in the Rigveda (I, 124.7 ; IV. 5.5 ; VIII. 35.5). that many solitary unprotected women, 'brotherless maidens,' succumbed to the allurements of evil men. But in the Vedic period women were not so much exposed to moral danger as in the later period. This was largely due to the fact that widow remarriage began to fall into disrepute during the period between 300 B.C. and 200 A.D. and with its abolition the chances of lapses became frequent among those women who found the ideal of celibacy too difficult to live up to. Furthermore, the lapses of women from the marriage vow came to be treated far more severely in later ages than was done in the Vedic period. Some early Dharma Sutra writers like Vasistha (Vasistha Dharma Sutra 28.2.3) and early Smriti writers like Devala (Devala Smriti 50.52) were inclined to be fairly lenient towards such women, provided they confessed their error and repented. Later on these women came to be looked upon as social outcasts and no measure for reclaiming them was in existence. Various ascetic associations, like that of Buddhists, no doubt, assimilated a few such women into their group if they were willing to lead a life of renunciation. In the nineteenth century, however, rose the two reform agencies, Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj, which realised the social evils of the ban on widow remarriage and of disowning on the part of relatives of an innocent woman molested by a gang of criminals. Christian missionaries in India also tried to focus public attention on this evil. In course of time many sectarian and non-sectarian organizations came

into existence to deal with the vast problem of rescuing women in moral danger. When the work increased and a large number of women were rescued, a need was felt for starting Homes to give them both shelter and training, where needed, to rehabilitate them. So just at the beginning of the twentieth century, Rescue Homes of the modern type began to develop in various parts of India.

A complete list of all Rescue Homes in this country has not yet been published. Suffice it to say that they exist in almost all the provinces. In Bombay Presidency alone, there is the Abala Ashrama at Keralibaug, Baroda, for Hindu orphans, girls, fallen or infirm women ; the Vikasagriha at Ahmedabad for women and children ; two homes at Poona and so on. In Bombay City itself the Aryasamaj Kakadwadi, after its inception in 1875, took up this work as one of its multifarious activities. Christian missionaries also had begun their work of giving protection to Christian women. The Contagious Diseases Prevention Act passed in England in 1864, was put into force in Bombay City on 1st May, 1870. As a result of this, 2000 prostitutes were registered and subjected to weekly examination, about 600 of them were treated in a temporary lock hospital and an expenditure of Rs. 80,000/- was incurred. But at the end of the year both the Bombay Municipality and the Bombay Government came to the unanimous conclusion that the results were poor, and the Act was suspended on 30th March 1872. It was again put into operation in 1880, and finally when in 1886 the British Parliament repealed it, the Government of India followed suit two years later. For thirty years nothing important was done beyond occasional public meetings till the horrible incident of a Pathan brothelkeeper who in 1917 beat to death a young girl, who had tried to escape from his clutches,

focused public attention on the evils of commercialized prostitution. It was in 1920 that the Social Purity Committee came into existence, at whose instance the Government of Bombay appointed a Committee in 1921 to consider ways and means of removing this evil. The Prevention of Prostitution Act was passed in 1923. To help in its working, the Bombay Vigilance Association was founded at a public meeting in the same year. It carried on active propaganda and got the Bombay Children Act, by which children under 16 could be removed from houses of prostitution, placed on the Statute Book. Round about this period we find a few Rescue Homes cropping up, the first of which appears to have been in 1908, founded by the Salvation Army for both Indians and non-Indians. This was followed in 1910 by the Shelter of the League of Mercy for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Feeling the need for a Home in

Bombay, meant exclusively for Indian women, the Bombay Presidency Women's Council started one in 1921. St. Catherine's Home, too, was founded in the same year mainly for Catholic women. The Bombay Vigilance Association, a part of whose duties were to do rescue and vigilance work in general, felt the need for having a shelter of its own on cosmopolitan basis, and this need was met in 1926. The late Lala Lajpat Roy in a public meeting held in the City in 1925 had stressed the need for having such a Home for Hindu women. It was not till 1928, however, that the Shraddhanand Anath Mahilashram was founded out of contributions collected by Hindus in Bombay to raise a memorial to the late Swami Shraddhanand. Finally, the Shri Arya Mahilashram was founded in 1942 for Hindu women. The following table gives the registration and location of these seven Rescue Homes :—

<i>Name of Institution</i>	<i>Registration</i>	<i>Present Address</i>
1. The Salvation Army Women's Industrial Home.	Registered.	Sion Road, Sion.
2. The Shelter of the League of Mercy.	Registered.	95, Morland Road, Byculla.
3. The Bombay Presidency Women's Council's Rescue Home for Indian Women.	Registered.	Old Prison Compound, Umarkhadi.
4. St. Catherine's Home.	Registered.	Ghodbunder Road, Andheri.
5. The Bombay Vigilance Association Shelter.	Registered.	Oomrigar Bldg., 124, Dadar Main Road, Dadar.
6. Shraddhanand Anath Mahilashram.	Registered.	Mahilashram Road, Dadar.
7. Shri Arya Mahilashram.	Unregistered.	Senavivari, Kandewadi, Girgaon.

Instead of dealing with these Homes in chronological order, which would involve repetition, we shall study them under the heads of physical structure,

reception and placement, case treatment, management and finance.

*Physical Structure.*—The Salvation Army's Home, the League of Mercy Shelter, St. Catherine's Home, the Vigilance Association Shelter, Shraddhanand Anath Mahilashram, and Shri Arya Mahilashram present the appearance from outside of flats or bungalows or residential buildings with no high boundary walls. Only the Bombay Presidency Women's Council Home occupies the old jail building at Umarkhadi and as such has huge prison walls ; some prison cells have recently been demolished and a rock garden has been raised in their place which to a great extent makes up for the prison architecture. The surroundings of all the Homes except those of St. Catherine's Home, Salvation Army Industrial Home and Shraddhanand Anath Mahilashram are congested and noisy.

*Reception and Placement.*—Some of these Homes receive not only fallen or stranded women, but also foundlings and orphans. In most of them, cases are received through relatives, neighbours, welfare societies, different Rescue Homes and from anyone who brings a woman in distress. Except for the Shri Arya Mahilashram which receives no police cases, the others receive cases from the courts, juvenile and adult. Women prisoners also are sometimes sent to these Homes. Sometimes girls and women on their own find their way to them. In the case of the Shraddhanand Anath Mahilashram and of the Shri Arya Mahilashram, the applicant for entrance into the home has to fill in a prescribed form in which she is required to give her name, birthplace, address, whether she is diseased or healthy, the signature and address of the person who brought her and such other information ; this application is approved or rejected

by the managing sub-committee after proper consideration.

When a case is admitted, the Superintendent writes down in brief the history of the woman from the information she is able to collect from her or from those who bring her. A record is kept of the cases admitted and disposed of in a register. The new inmate commences at once to follow the daily institutional regime like other inmates. There is no provision for investigation prior to institutionalization. The League of Mercy Shelter and the Bombay Presidency Women's Council Home have no classification system ; nor has the Shri Arya Mahilashram whose authorities believe that if all inmates stay together a sort of family feeling would develop since women would bestow motherly affection on foundlings and orphans, while these in their turn would bear filial love for them. St. Catherine's Home has four departments : St. Margaret's for mothers and babies, St. Agnes for protection and prevention cases, St. Anne's for school girl protection cases and Our Lady's Cottage for nursery and kindergarten for children born in the Home. These departments being dormitories only and not separate units with bath and kitchen, all the inmates mingle freely together throughout the day. So also in the Vigilance Association Shelter cases are recorded under three heads—protection, prevention and rescue—but though this classification is maintained in the Register, it is not observed in the placement of cases all of whom stay together. An attempt is made in the Salvation Army Home to classify girls on an age basis. All mothers, however, are classified together without any consideration of personal case record ; these different groups stay in different rooms at night but mix freely during the day. All the girls in the Shraddhanand Anath Ashram also have been divided into groups according to



their ages and educational progress ; a room is allotted to each group and put in charge of a senior girl who is to look after the daily routine. Amongst women also the classification is on age basis, where it is maintained, and not on the basis of personal case record.

*Case Treatment.*—Some sort of occupational training is provided in these Homes. Inmates themselves do the household work, including cooking, washing, sweeping, repairing torn clothes and store room work. Further, they receive training in needlework, orders being received from outside for the purpose, which enables them to earn a little pocket money. In some Homes industries are taught. In St. Catherine's Home, for instance, these industries embrace garment making, embroidery, knitting and fancy work, making of candles, soaps, baskets and brooms. In the Shraddhanand Ashram, the making of cloth toys has been started and some eatables such as papads are prepared and sold. In both these Homes, again, inmates also help in gardening. The League of Mercy Home teaches its inmates to become children's nurses, hair dressers, and steno-typists. Last, but not least, is literary education. Kindergarten arrangements for children exist in the Salvation Army Home and girls of school going age are given lessons in the three R's. Literary education for girls up to 13 is compulsory in St. Catharine's Home ; examinations are set in Marathi, Canarese, English, Arithmetic, General Knowledge, Laundry Work, Cooking, Domestic Science and Child Nursing, and certificates are awarded after three months' training. Recently a teacher was appointed in the Vigilance Association Shelter to teach its inmates Marathi. In the Bombay Presidency Women's Council Home, the matron teaches Marathi and Hindi to those

inmates who are willing to learn. The superintendent in the League of Mercy Shelter sometimes teaches illiterate women to read and write. The Shraddhanand Anath Mahilashram maintains a nursery school for very small children, a primary school for such women and girls as cannot for various reasons be sent outside, and a library of its own stocked with a few Marathi magazines, newspapers and books. Children of Shri Arya Mahilashram attend Aryasamaj Pathshala to learn the three R's, but not women.

Generally speaking, there is no organized recreation in these Homes. After the household work is done, inmates are free to occupy themselves by playing games or in any way they choose. Occasionally they are taken for walks, or for trips to Juhu, Victoria Gardens, Museum and other places, or to cinema shows.

The diet of inmates plays an important part in case treatment. To take one Home, the Salvation Army's, inmates in the morning are given tea and wheat chapati ; at noon rice or bajri bread, pulses and vegetables ; and in the evening rice and fish or mutton curry. In the afternoon only Anglo-Indians and Europeans are given tea, bread and butter and in the morning they are given bread in place of chapati. The Bombay Presidency Women's Council's Rescue Home, the League of Mercy Shelter, Shraddhanand Anath Mahilashram serve four meals with variations in the menu. Vigilance Association Shelter, St. Catherine's Home and Shri Arya Mahilashram serve 3 meals. In St. Catherine's Home bread and tea is served to children in the afternoon ; due to inadequate conditions, as one of the sisters told the writer, there is not enough money on some days to give afternoon tea even to children. In the Shri Arya Mahilashram children under 12 are given a cup of milk

at 5 every evening. Babies are given Glaxo when it is available. In these two Homes this afternoon meal is provided only for children.

Medical supervision is also necessary for health. The Shraddhanand Ashram is the only Home in which the medical officer comes daily ; there is a dispensary attached to the Home and a compounder comes regularly with the doctor. Other Homes have honorary physicians, but due to pressure of work they do not attend regularly. The Shri Arya Mahilashram has a free Ayurvedic dispensary in charge of a Vaidya and a compounder. For minor ailments this Vaidya is consulted; for more serious cases there is an honorary medical officer. It is the rule of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council's Home to get every inmate examined for venereal disease, but quite a number of days pass before she is taken to hospital for examination. Moreover, if it is a court case, very often court hours clash with hospital hours so that she is not taken to hospital at all. In the St. Catharine's Home, too, inmates have to undergo medical examination twice a year, but as the Home has no hospital attached to it, a thorough medical examination is not possible, especially a blood test. Known cases of V. D. are not admitted, but as blood tests are not taken, there is every likelihood of V.D. cases getting in and mingling with clean cases. There is no provision for keeping V.D. and clean cases absolutely separated from one another, for they use the same bathroom and latrine. When an inmate leaves the Home, her bedding is not disinfected before it is given to another inmate.

As regards rehabilitation, the League of Mercy Shelter was the first in Bombay to think of after-care work. For this purpose the Guild was started in 1933, comprising all girls past and present, with the idea that

they should correspond with one another. A Hostel was also started so that women even when working outside could be under the supervision of the League. Unfortunately, neither the Guild nor the Hostel exist any more. The Superintendents of these Homes do a moderate amount of investigation to find out the relatives of an inmate. If this relative is willing to take charge of her and if she too is willing to go along with him, she is handed over to him. If no such arrangement is possible, jobs are found out for inmates as maid servants, ayahs, workers in tailors' shops and so on. The Vigilance Association Homes, the Shraddhanand Ashram, the Shri Arya Mahilashram and the Bombay Presidency Women's Council's Home make attempts even to get inmates married whenever that is possible.

*Management and Finance.*—The management and financial position of these Homes remain to be considered. St. Catharine's Home is managed by sisters under a Sister Superior and helped by a number of most dependable girls. All the others, except the Salvation Army's Home, have managing committees. The League of Mercy has a general committee of which a sub-committee looks after the Shelter. The Bombay Women's Council Home is managed by a sub-committee composed of 10 members exclusive of the executive officers of the Council and a representative of the Municipal Corporation who are ex-officio members ; the Vigilance Association Shelter by a sub-committee composed of 11 or 12 members ; the Shraddhanand Ashram by a managing committee subdivided into admission and disposal, industrial, building and constitution sub-committees ; the Shri Arya Mahilashram by a managing committee of 18 members elected out of the general committee and by a sub-committee of 4 members elected out of the managing committee.

### Staff for Internal Management

<i>The Salvation Army Home</i>	— a Superintendent, 3 teachers and an honorary physician.
<i>League of Mercy Shelter</i>	— a Superintendent, an honorary medical adviser, matron, 2 servants, a cook, a gardener and a sweeper.
<i>Bombay Presidency Women's Council Home</i>	— a Superintendent, a matron and 2 watchmen.
<i>Vigilance Association Shelter</i>	— a Superintendent, a matron, an honorary physician and a sweeper.
<i>Shraddhanand Mahilashram</i>	— a Superintendent, 2 assistant superintendents, a matron for foundling section and her assistant, 9 teachers for school and industrial classes, a physician, a compounder, a clerk, a typist, an assistant to Hon. Secretaries, a gardener, 2 watchmen, 2 servants and a sweeper.
<i>Shri Arya Mahilashram</i>	— a Superintendent, an honorary medical adviser, an ayah and a sweeper.
<i>St. Catherine's Home</i>	— 6 Sisters, a lady worker and about 6 or 7 'helpers,' 2 honorary physicians, a gardener and a sweeper.

### The Financial Position of each Home

*The Salvation Army Home.*—Its sources of income are : a Government Grant for the needlework room (Rs. 150/- in the first year and Rs. 320/- in the second), Rs. 100/- collected from parents and relatives, Rs. 16/- or 17/- received as subscriptions from European ladies, sale of needlework amounting to Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/- per month, capitation fees for court cases and Rs. 500/- received from Headquarters.

*League of Mercy Shelter.*—Rs. 1,000/- per month can be drawn from Lloyd's Bank by the superintendent for the expenses of the shelter. The amount is provided by the League of Mercy.

*The B. P. Women's Council Home.*—Sources of income are an endowment fund

of Rs. 46,200 in 3½ per cent Government Promissory notes, yearly grant of Rs. 800/- from the Municipality, Rs. 150/- from the Goa Emigration Fund, maintenance charges from the Children's Aid Society and capitation fees. Its monthly expenditure is between Rs. 350/- and Rs. 400/-.

*St. Catharine's Home.*—Sources of income are : a Government Grant, fees given by guardians of girls, contributions from the Archbishop, capitation fees, donations from the Goa Emigration Fund and the Dulgado Trust, and sales of needlework and farm products. Its expenses in 1942 were Rs. 21,241-2-0. The Home takes loans now and again from the mission fund.

*Vigilance Association Shelter.*—The Vigilance Association spends about Rs. 4,000 per year for the Shelter out of the Association Fund. The Shelter has no Fund of its own.

*Shraddhanand Ashram.*—It has a Permanent Fund of Rs. 1,06,019 and a General Fund of Rs. 57,090-3-4 (January 1943) and donations amounting to Rs. 7,107-14-0. In addition, it owns a plot of land at Ville Parle, and land and building at Bassein. Its expenditure for 1942 was Rs. 22,454-13-6.

*Shri Arya Mahilashram.*—It is run by means of public donations. Its expenses amount to Rs. 450/- per mensem. A philanthropic gentleman meets expenses at the rate of Rs. 400/- per month for one year. After expiry of this, the Aryasamaj is willing to bear the expenses till sufficient donations are received. The Home as such has no Standing Fund.

This survey of the Rescue Homes in Bombay leads us to make the following suggestions for their improvement :—

I. *Structure, Equipment and Location.*—All the above institutions are congregate types of homes which are not suited to the requirements of a modern correctional institute. There is need for evolving small cottage types of correctional institutions, each cottage being a home unit having its own bedrooms, kitchen, bathrooms and latrine, and accommodating about 10 to 15 members. Not only are cottages helpful for classification and experimental purposes, but they give an opportunity to place some of the younger women in a home situation much more normal than that which a large impersonal institution can possibly supply. The cottages should be well ventilated, with adequate water supply and sanitary arrangements. For each inmate there should be a wooden bed with necessary amount of bedding

for summer and winter, a wooden cloth-stand, a wooden box with lock and key to keep her clothes, soap, oil, comb, etc. Each cottage, in addition, may have a mirror, a few buckets and mugs, and a minimum amount of utensils for kitchen and dining purposes. Cottages for Anglo-Indians and non-Indians may be provided with some tables and chairs. Walls of all the cottages may be decorated with pictures depicting, not the fires of hell burning the fallen women, but happy scenes of family life and work.

Each Rescue Home should have a receiving ward where a case may stay for two or three weeks before being institutionalised. During this period she should be given a thorough medical, psychiatric and psychometric examination. This necessitates a well-equipped hospital with a well-paid medical staff. Though feeble-mindedness has been proved to be one of the causes of sex-delinquency, there is no provision in the Homes for psychiatric examination or, in other words, for classification on the basis of mental condition. A group of feeble-minded females obviously need permanent custodial care. Given such care, removed from the community which is as great a menace to them as they are to it and treated differently according to their needs, they can be made happy to some extent in a little community institution of their own. So long as there is no separate institution for them, they may form a separate department of a Rescue Home and be housed in a building near the staff quarters and hospital but far from cottages for normal inmates. In short, for correctional purposes, we need Rescue Colonies rather than Rescue Homes, with acres of land for farming and industry. To fulfill these purposes, the structure of the Colony should consist of staff quarters, colony

office, hospital, receiving ward, ward for psychopathic cases, buildings for creche, nursery, library, club halls, class rooms and cottages for inmates.

## II. *Case Work and Classification.*—

Structures, of course, are less important than what goes on within them. We have already seen that in all Rescue Homes in Bombay a case is institutionalized the moment she is admitted without regard to her attitude, interests and capacities. To know these her case history needs to be gathered. The Rescue Colony Social Worker's case sheet should contain information, firstly, about the woman herself, her family and social background, her general history like date of birth, birth-place, court record, her health, her education and mental fitness, her occupational history, the community from which she comes, her sex life, her relationship to her child, if any; secondly, if she is an unmarried mother, about the father's financial condition in order to discover if an attempt should be made to persuade him to support the child; thirdly, about the child itself, to discover whether the mother wants to dispose it off and if so, how best to do it. After all this information has been secured during the course of her detention in the receiving ward, there is need for a staff conference where all the members of the staff are to discuss her case with a view to assigning her to her cottage and her employment, and to outline for her a beneficial educational course.

Case history serves four useful purposes. First of all, it is of great help in the matter of classification of inmates. In all Rescue Homes in Bombay an attempt at classification (where it is made) is made on age basis, whereas an adequate classification must take into account mental condition, age and personal record. If it is found that a woman is not fallen at all,

but, having come from the village, has only lost her way in the big city, she should be shifted to a home for stranded women. Without classification there is bound to be duplication, as is proved by the fact that most of the Rescue Homes in Bombay have been turned into orphanages, foundling homes, Homes for fallen as well as stranded women and so on. The homes should be separate if they are adequately to fulfill these separate purposes. Where there is no classification, again, all cases mingle freely together and a first offender has the chance of being contaminated by the baneful influence of those who are more hardened than herself. The second useful purpose of case history is that it can be employed in directing intelligently the efforts of the institution to improve individual inmates. The complete verified report of the inmate should be reconsidered by the staff at a conference to be held, say, after 2 to 3 months. The institutional history of the inmate up to that time should be reviewed so as to find out how far the treatment being meted out to her is doing her good. Thirdly, case history would be helpful in the work of rehabilitation and, lastly, the information found in the case record files of a Rescue Colony could be used as raw material for the scientific study of sex-delinquency amongst women.

## III. *Institutionalization.*—A Rescue Home must do for its inmates not only everything a hospital does for its patients, but it must go further. It has, to begin with, to teach inmates a trade. For occupational training, it would seem expedient that every colony should follow a mixed economy of agriculture and industry. A farm should be an essential part of it in order that such primary necessities of life such as milk, butter, meat, roots and vegetables might be produced as far as practicable by inmates

themselves. Farming, besides, would give them wholesome outdoor exercise. The industrial side could occupy itself with tailoring, embroidery, knitting, manufacture of jams and sweets and so on. Making of bouquets from flowers grown in the colony would give occupation to quite a number of women, flowers being always in demand in the City. The aim of these industries should be to make colonies self-supporting, not to exploit their inmates. Industries, therefore, should not be run on a profit basis. Women could also be trained as ward maids and nurses, some of whom could be absorbed in the hospital itself and in the nursery and creche, and the rest could be sent for outside work under official supervision. Short-hand and typing and the domestic arts which would make them efficient housewives could also be taught.

We find in some Rescue Homes in Bombay an insufficient work-load spread over the entire day which causes inmates to lapse into habits of laziness and inefficiency. Therefore, one of the principal duties of institutional training is to accustom them to the sustained effort required during the number of hours of the average working day in factories or workshops in the modern world. All work done by them should be paid on principle to the extent of 75%. This would enable them to save some money to protect themselves against extreme poverty when they leave the colony. Out of this they must be made to pay for their board and lodging, so that they do not feel they are in a charitable institution.

They should be encouraged to supplement their education. To those interested in studies, should be imparted knowledge of economics and history, geography and domestic science, and discussions between them on current events should

be encouraged. Courses of studies should be planned which would interweave academic and industrial training. For instance, while teaching laundry work, subjects like study of fabrics, removal of stains, blueing and bleaching processes and first aid in the laundry could be taught. While doing farming, information about the origin of agriculture, use of hoe, different agricultural systems, etc. could be imparted. Inmates should be taken on sight-seeing trips and a well equipped library under a trained librarian should be provided for them.

Side by side with education, attention should be paid to recreation. In Bombay Rescue Homes it has been noticed that inmates spend their recreation gossiping, quarreling or just sinking into laziness. Recreation should be so arranged as to suit the work they are doing, and their interests and needs. Numerous games, tableaux, concerts, folk dances and occasional light operas performed by inmates or by castes composed of inmates and officers would provide wholesome ways of self-expression. They should sometimes be taken out for picnics and camping. Another way of utilizing leisure hours would be attendance at clubs, lectures, vocational schools and settlement houses, if any, nearby. It would be advantageous also to teach them certain measures of self-defence so that they could defend themselves, should the need arise, against ruffians.

Every effort should be made to keep them physically fit. Their diet should be balanced and nutritious. To keep their bodies and their clothes clean, there should be adequate supplies of water and soap. After an inmate leaves the Home, her bedding should be disinfected by means of a steam steriliser. V.D. and non-V.D. cases should have separate cottages. There

should be regular medical supervision. If a Rescue Colony has its own hospital, the question of clashing of hospital hours and court hours, that we remarked upon above, need not arise. A thorough medical examination is possible only through resident medical staff, and treatment, too, becomes very easy.

Discipline needs to be enforced. In some institutions physical punishments like caning, tying hands and feet, putting an inmate in a dark room, making her stand in a bent position holding her toes with her fingers and not giving her meals are resorted to. The ideas of misbehaviour of some Rescue Home officials are also very peculiar—a woman is not to look out of the window very often; she is not to stand in that part of the building where she can be seen by outsiders and, while walking on the road, she is not to raise her head. Such rules, enforced by such punishments, defeat their own ends. Discipline could be better enforced through a more general education that involves an appeal to their sense of self-respect and responsibility. An attempt is made by some Rescue Homes to substitute religious for sexual feelings. No doubt the positive aspect of religion can do a world of good, but a quiet example is always more effective than an eloquent sermon and to set a girl an interesting and constructive hobby would often be a far better preventive against over-indulgence than any amount of lecturing on Hindu, Christian or Muslim duties of abstinence.

IV. *Rehabilitation.*—The aim of all Rescue Homes in Bombay is held to be rehabilitation. Efforts are made to hand over an inmate to her relatives. Little is done, however, to understand why a woman resorted to unchastity while staying in that relative's place, whether conditions that led to her downfall have

changed, whether there is still a chance of her falling again and so on. When an inmate leaves and goes to some different part of the country, the Home loses touch with her unless she herself cares to write and keep contact with it. When a marriage is settled for an inmate, it is sometimes noticed that the true history of the girl is not related to the bridegroom, e.g., a woman who has led a life of shame is given in marriage under the pretext of her being a child widow or an orphan. This is a most undesirable practice, for, if somehow or other the husband comes to know of his wife's past, he develops a feeling of disgust towards her which leads to desertion or divorce. It would be far better to relate the true story and fix the marriage only if the would-be bridegroom is broad-minded enough to still desire it.

One important rehabilitative measure that has been tried in America and could be adopted in India is that of foster-care of the unmarried mother. Foster parents are selected on the basis of their understanding of adolescent problems and their interest in entering a new field. The foster mother can be of real help in providing suitable guidance to the girl, and her own experience as a mother cannot be overlooked as a deciding factor in helping the unmarried mother to face her problems. The child of such an unmarried mother should be sent to the foster home along with its mother. It has been observed that practically every girl cared for in a foster home has found in the foster family new friends whose relationship with her endures long after she has left the home. Of course, the colony staff should decide which cases should be sent to foster homes and which should be institutionalised.

V. *Rescue Home Personnel.*—The success of Rescue Homes depends to a

great extent upon the adequacy of the administrative staff. A close study reveals that in some Homes the officers have little sympathy for inmates and look down upon fallen women as beings irretrievably lost to society. Very often they have not the patience or understanding to deal with each case individually. Most of them are not professionally trained for their work. Over and above all this, in some Homes superintendents stoop to corruption. Very often brothel keepers try to get into touch with a former inmate of their brothels, now sheltered in the Home, by bribing the superintendent; she is kind to those inmates whose relatives bring her presents; she curtails the quantity of food meant for inmates by taking a part of it for herself; she makes inmates work for her personal benefit; a girl is given in marriage to a person who gives her a bribe—these are some of the practices the writer herself has come across in one of the Rescue Homes of Bombay. The only remedy is to get skilled workers who have sympathetic insight into the foibles of humanity and to pay them adequately so that they may be above corruption.

VI. *Management : An All India Organization for the Moral Welfare of Women.*—Management is one of the most important aspects of Rescue Homes. Most of those in Bombay are managed by committees, the members of which may be men and women of a philanthropic bent of mind but do not have any concrete idea of social work and its principles. State handling would not solve this difficulty at all, for we find lack of efficiency in many state institutions in India. Apart from internal management, we notice a lack of proper distribution of facilities, there being 7 or 8 Homes in one city and not a single one in another. Instead of having a number

of small Rescue Homes in one city, some of which compete with one another in getting more cases and thereby trying to maintain their superiority, it is desirable to have a Rescue Colony run on scientific lines in each district. Scientific planning, therefore, is necessary.

A national organization that would have for its aim the moral welfare of women all over India needs to be set up. Existing organizations could be amalgamated with it and thus made to work on national lines. This organization needs to have a central body, a provincial body and a district body. The central body is to formulate general plans; the provincial body is to chalk out in detail the programme for each district to enable it to carry out the plans laid by the central committee. Trained social workers from all over India would form the central committee; for district committees men would be invited who have practical experience in handling problems related to the moral welfare of women and these district committees would have to send one or two representatives each to constitute the provincial committee. District committees may meet once a month, provincial committees once in three months and the central committee twice a year. Representatives of the district would attend the meetings of the provincial committee and representatives of the provinces those of the central committee. This would ensure all-India co-ordination.

This All India Organization would have to deal with both the curative and preventive aspects of the moral welfare of women. Managing Rescue Colonies would no doubt come under curative work. The organization could begin by sending orphans and foundlings to their respective institutions; the inmates of Rescue Homes could be shifted to Rescue Colonies and the



buildings thus left vacant could be utilized (if found suitable) as hostels for girls discharged from a Rescue Colony and going out for studies or work. Moreover, the co-ordination of different committees for the organization would be a great help in after-care work. If an inmate was discharged from one district colony and she was to go out for work or was married in another district, social workers of the former district could inform workers of the other district and the latter could carry on an official oversight. Another advantage would be that if the superintendent of a Colony were also a member of the district committee, there would be no likelihood of a clash between the managing committee and the administrative staff, such as has been observed in some Rescue Homes.

As the situation stands in India today, it may be difficult to get trained social workers to fill in all the necessary posts in a colony. So if only superintendents of Rescue Colonies are trained Social Workers and other workers are untrained ones, the former can train up the latter to a great extent. Twice or thrice a week all staff members of a colony could meet in the evenings and start a training class of their own. A well equipped library for staff use in each colony would further keep the members in touch with modern methods of dealing with social problems. Those inmates who show a good sense of responsibility and have given up their evil habits could be given work in the internal management of the colony.

The All India Organization could also adopt preventive measures. One of the most effective of these is social legislation. It has very often been seen that a good piece of legislation remains ineffective owing to certain loopholes and

also to lack of proper attention and care in enforcing it. The Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act, for instance, penalizes landlords who rent out premises for the purpose of conducting brothels ; but landlords and brothel-keepers circumvent this provision by partitioning premises into small apartments and making out rent bills in the name of each occupant of an apartment. An additional difficulty is that girls over 18 cannot be compelled to live in an institution against their will. The All India Organization would have to see that courts extend juvenile court procedure and philosophy to adults to some extent. After all, women in moral danger need as much protection as children and many of them are psychologically children in their incapacity for assuming social responsibility.

What is required is a comprehensive survey of the situation in regard to immoral traffic in women. For this purpose the All India Organisation would have to appoint an experienced worker for each district who along with a few assistants could survey the whole district and bring to the forefront its problems. It would have to agitate for abolition and create public opinion in favour of it. In the case of women who have fallen, it would have to see that they are given a fresh start and that the conditions that led them to fall are removed as far as possible. In a word, there is need for a concerted attack upon the factors which promote delinquency. It would be well, therefore, if in each district or in a region composed of two or three districts there were established a council of representatives of all the major wholesome interests with the aim of organizing the region or the district into a living force for conserving desirable values in community life and preventing the rise and spread of anti-social behaviour.

# HEALTH, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION FOR INDIA

C. C. ABRAHAM

Since the human organism is a psycho-physical unity the over-emphasis on the development of the intellect to the neglect of the physical, which is not uncommon in our educational system, cannot but result in unbalanced individuals. Hence the writer makes a plea for the introduction of a physical education programme for children, adolescents, women and workers in the interest of national health and progress.

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The war in Europe and the Far East have both come to an end. Man's eyes are now turned toward building an enduring peace and a better world. The peace of the world depends, to a large extent, on whether there is freedom from slavery, domination, and exploitation in Asia. India occupies a key position among the Asiatic peoples. She is conscious of this great responsibility and has been making plans for improving the lot of nearly four hundred millions of her people. Raising the standard of living, eradication of illiteracy, education of the masses, stamping out disease, improving and conserving the health of the people, etc., are some of the important steps that are being generally suggested in order to build a new India. Elaborate post-war plans are already drawn up to make this dream a reality.

World War No. II has proved beyond any doubt that the Indian can be built into a tough guy—to use an American phrase—if he is given the food, the training and the experience. Indian soldiers won renown and fame for their valour, courage and endurance in the East as well as in the West. To build up the health of the millions of India is a gigantic, but not an impossible task. The first step in this direction is to improve the economic status of the people and thereby the standard of living of the masses. Second, the environmental hazards to healthy living must be removed. Health

hazards are a great menace to national wellbeing. Professor Hill who has given an admirable analysis of the problem points out that the mortality in India at all ages, is four to eight times that of Britain, the expectation of life at birth being 26 in India, while it is 62 in Britain ; and only half the people born reach 22 years instead of 69 as in Britain. Health statistics show that 25 to 50 per cent. of the entire population suffer from malaria and millions die of preventible diseases such as tuberculosis, cholera, plague, and small-pox. A large part of the population, Professor Hill adds, is underfed ; and according to any reasonable standards the number is more than half. Of these many millions are living on the verge of starvation with the obvious result that chronic malnutrition acts with disease in a vicious circle, producing poverty and inefficiency.

Coupled with a constructive programme of improving the standard of living of the masses and the removal of the risks to healthy living like mal-nutrition, diseases, lack of sanitation, illiteracy, ignorance, etc., a nation-wide programme of Health, Physical Education and Recreation must be introduced.

*Brief Historical Survey.*—India has been influenced in the field of physical education by three main forces. One, indigenous being Indian and the other two, foreign being British and American.

(i) *India's own Heritage.*—A careful study of the Indian culture reveals that, for many centuries, the people of India from the Vedic era lived a life in which adequate physical growth and development were the normal outcomes of a natural life. The Aryans fought their wars and ploughed their fields, but soon settled down to a life of ease which provided ample leisure for meditation and philosophy. The vigorous physical activities, once provided by normal, natural outdoor life, gave place to a system of yogic exercises and practices. Religion was the basis of the practice of Yoga, and the supreme goal of Yoga was Samadhi or state of oneness with Brahma (God).

“Cleanliness, self-discipline of body and mind and resignation to life were some of the features of Yoga. The impression most Westerners have gained that Yoga means self-mortification and torture of the body is not true. Such aberrations are not countenanced by Yoga. The immediate goal of the Yogin was self-control and not self-torture.”\*

There seems to be a consensus of opinion among physical educators in India today that, quite apart from religious beliefs, Yogic exercises are excellent keep-fit exercises for all ages and sexes, and that they have a place in our physical education programme.

Out of Yoga has come the Indian breath-holding game of Chedugudu or Kabbadi or Hu-tu-tu, played all over India under various names. Kho-Kho is another vigorous Indian team game. Nearly all of these games require no equipment.

Besides these there are numerous other minor games suitable for young and old.

Wrestling was a great national sport in ancient India. Garadies, Kalaries, Akhadās, and Talim-Khanas, which were once the gymnasia of India, promoting physical education through the art of wrestling, still continue to exist in many parts of India, reminding one of ancient Greek physical culture.

India has also received a rich heritage of rhythmic activities in the form of classical dances and folk-dances. These dances and the songs that accompany them represent the soul of India's ancient culture. In a scheme of Physical Education, adequately planned for India, the activities that are native to the soil of the country must find their rightful place because these exercises, games and dances are peculiarly Indian and through them the children of the country can express themselves naturally, and thereby interpret the culture of India to the rest of the world.

(ii) *The British Influence.*—India's association with the British people extends to well over 200 years and within this long period some of the British sports and British traditions in sports have established themselves in India. Britain's isolated position free from the turmoils of the continent of Europe enabled her to develop her outdoor sports and outdoor activities. Her free institutions, love of personal liberty and individualism tended to create and foster her great team spirit and competitive games of football, cricket, hockey, tennis, golf, track and field athletics, boating, swimming, rowing, archery, etc. The values of play and sports in moulding and developing character have been long recognised by the British people. Their public schools, colleges, and universities have set the

\*Yoga, *A Scientific Evaluation* by Behenan, Ph. D., published by Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd., London, pp. 120.

traditions in sportsmanship and fair play. Wherever they have gone, the Britishers have taken their sports and their traditions in sports with them. In this field India has really gained through her long association with them, and their games and sports have become popular throughout the country; these games have come to stay in India. We have to admit that they have their exercise and health values. They also provide opportunities for all classes and communities of people to come together for recreation. They promote team work, team spirit, co-operation, fair play and a feeling of comradeship and *esprit de corps*, besides developing the qualities of leadership.

Britain has also introduced into India Gymnastics as adapted by Maclaren from the German system; Swedish Drill, adapted from the Ling system; Military marching tactics; rhythmic exercises adapted from the Danish system; bar-bell exercises and scout drill. All these activities have their legitimate place in a comprehensive programme of physical education.

(iii) *The American Influence.*—In the field of physical education, America has influenced practically the whole world. This influence has been widened and maintained by the Young Men's Christian Association and its International Physical Education College at Springfield, Massachusetts, U.S.A. In the space of five decades, America has sent out to India several graduates of the Springfield College as pioneers in the cause of physical education. The most outstanding contribution to India has been the twenty years of pioneering service by the late Mr. H. C. Buck. Mr. Buck founded the first Physical Education College in India at Madras in 1920. The establishment of the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education for training educated

young men as leaders in physical education was the beginning of scientific physical education in India.

Through the various Y.M.C.As. scattered all over India, and particularly through the Y.M.C.A. College, the concept of physical education, as understood in America, gradually permeated the whole country. The schools and colleges in practically every Province have been benefited by this.

Through a programme of physical training, games and sports in the associations, through short term courses in physical education, through demonstrations of physical activities and through lectures, the Y.M.C.A. Physical Director tried to create a new interest in Physical Education and to interpret it as it is understood in the western countries, especially America. To the Y.M.C.A. should be given the credit for introducing free play, hygienic drill and exercises and games like Volley-ball and Basket-ball; for making physical education more interesting, attractive and useful; and for evolving a method of combining the indigenous exercises like the Dundhals and Bhaskis and indigenous games like Chedugudu, (Kabbadi), Kho-Kho, Atya patya, etc., with western exercises and games. The establishment of the National Y.M.C.A. School of Physical Education in 1920 (College of Physical Education since July 1931) for the purpose of training educated men of high character as Physical Directors is, therefore, of the utmost significance in the history of Physical Education in the country.

*Suggested Programme of Physical Education.*—Physical education and recreation are nation-building activities. These activities can exert their maximum influence on a people only if the obstacles standing in their way are first removed.

First, the ascetic philosophy of life of the Indian people should give place to one in which life here and now is to be lived well and abundantly.

The concept of the human organism as a psycho-physical unity should be accepted. The physical basis of life, which is generally looked down upon, must receive its due emphasis and attention. India is deteriorating in health. The country is in a state of national degeneration physically. The entire mass of the people need to be roused to recognise the value of physical health and development with reference to national health and progress.

Poverty, sickness, disease, malnutrition and starvation are enemies of human progress. If a scheme of National Physical Education and Recreation is to succeed in India, such a scheme should become part of a national plan in which the standard of living of the masses is improved, and adequate food, shelter, clothing and medical help are assured.

Education in India must receive a thorough re-orientation. It must be made suitable to the genius and needs of the Indian child. The present over-emphasis on the development of the intellect to the neglect of the physical should give place to the education of the whole child, possessing a perfectly educated mind and a perfectly educated body. Physical education must have its legitimate place in this scheme of education. It must become an integral part of the total education of the child. To make this possible, there must be a re-adjustment and balancing of the curriculum of studies. More and better schools will be needed and also more and better qualified and trained teachers.

*Elementary Schools.*—All children in the elementary school (classes 1-5) should participate daily in a programme of supervised physical education activities ; and

during this period the teaching of skills, techniques and attitudes should be stressed. The minimum daily instructional period should be thirty minutes in the morning and thirty minutes in the afternoon. In addition, there should be recess periods, periods for free and supervised play, and integration of physical education activities with other phases of the curriculum.

Activities included in the physical education programme for elementary schools should be varied in nature, and should include games of simple organisation for large and small groups ; rhythmic activities including free and creative rhythms, singing games and folk dances ; hunting and chasing games ; modified athletic games ; stunts, tumbling and self-testing activities ; activities on gymnastic and playground apparatus ; mimetics and story plays. This programme of activities should be suited to the interests, needs and physical capacities of the pupils. Individual differences must be taken into account. School managements should provide equipment and supplies sufficient in amount and variety, together with adequate indoor playroom and outdoor playground facilities, to permit conduct of such a programme.

Elementary school classroom teachers should have a sufficient amount of training to enable them to conduct physical education activities suitable for elementary school children. Such training should be given in every teacher-training institution. Special training classes should be conducted for teachers already in service.

*Middle and High Schools.*—All pupils in the middle and high schools should participate in a daily programme of supervised physical education activities. The minimum time allotment for physical education classes should be the equivalent of the school's regular academic periods.

Additional time should be allotted for practice and participation periods. Timetables for physical training classes should be planned as carefully as are other class periods. They must fit into the regular school day along with other classes in such a way that every pupil may receive physical training daily. This may necessitate radical re-organisation of the entire school programme, even to the extent of starting the school day earlier; but if we are to educate the whole child we must re-organise school life in such a way that our aim may be realized.

All pupils in the school should be enrolled in physical education classes. Those who, by reason of illness or disability, are unable to participate in the more vigorous forms of activity should be assigned to classes in modified activity, or to rest, with full credit in either case. No pupil needs to be excused from physical education where such a programme is maintained.

Work in scouting, or guiding, or in military training should be not permitted to serve as a substitute for physical education, since the objectives and the means of obtaining the objectives of each are of a divergent nature.

Classes in physical education should be small enough to permit efficient instructions. It may be suggested that twenty-five pupils per teacher per period is desirable. However, never should a class be allowed to consist of more than forty pupils per teacher. Pupils should be classified and grouped according to their several abilities.

The physical education programme should receive equal recognition with other subjects in the curriculum.

The content of the programme of physical education in the middle and high schools should be broad and varied. It

should include a variety of team games, major and minor; a variety of individual and small team sports such as tennis, archery, handball, badminton, teniquoit, fencing, boxing, wrestling, quoits, stunts, tumbling, pyramid building, gymnastics, drills, marching, etc.; efficiency tests and group competition; track and field athletics; rhythmic activities including folk dances, gymnastic dancing, etc.

The physical education instruction period should be utilized for the teaching of skills and attitudes in the foregoing programme of activities, and should not be used as a period for free and undirected play. All reasonable precautions should be taken to prevent accidents. *Habits of safety in activity should be developed.*

Supplies and equipment sufficient to organize and conduct the programme properly should be provided by school managements from funds budgetted for such a purpose. The physical education programme should not be allowed to subsist on such gleanings as the gate receipts of athletic contests, demonstrations, or student fees, but should be supported on the same basis as classes in History, English, Mathematics and other school subjects.

Adequate bathing and sanitary arrangements, dressing rooms, indoor and outdoor play facilities should be provided in each school in order to make possible the most effective programme.

Teachers of physical education should be thoroughly prepared for their duties. They should be persons with the best available training and certified as specialists. Unqualified persons must not be permitted to teach physical education.

Classes in modified activity, corrective physical education, or rest should be provided for those pupils who, because of disability or illness, may not safely participate

in vigorous activity. The medical examination and doctor's recommendation should be made the basis of assignment to this programme. Facilities for conducting the above programme should be provided in each school. The service of teachers with specialised training in corrective physical education should be available for each school.

All middle and high school pupils should change of clothing for the physical education period. Bathing should be required at the close of each physical education class. It is most unhygienic to exercise in clothing in which the person will remain after exercise. To prevent chills and fevers there should be a complete change of clothing for exercise, and the exercise should be followed by a bath and change into dry clothing.

Records of physical education work should be maintained. Just as registers, tests and measurements and records of progress are kept in other subjects, similarly attention must be paid to physical education. Such records serve as incentives to pupil and teacher, and enable us to discover whether we are realizing our aims and objectives. It may be pointed out that keeping records may not by itself be sufficient incentive. A system of credits in physical education should be introduced and such credits must be taken into consideration for promotion of a pupil. This is the only feasible way of putting physical education at par with other subjects.

*Colleges and Universities.*—In a carefully planned system of education, a student would have undergone a long period of systematic compulsory physical training by the time he reaches the University stage. The habit of regular exercise and play should, by this time, have become so universal that no further compulsion

should be necessary. Ample facilities for vigorous games and recreation under supervision ought to take the place of compulsion. But, for many years to come—about 20 years after a national system of education has been in operation—compulsion even in the University classes will be essential. At present, the great majority of the students enter college without any knowledge of games and actual instruction becomes necessary to make them “physically literate” ! Attempts to teach them and to develop in them a liking for games and sports, where they have been seriously tried, have been found to be eminently fruitful. So, a system of compulsory physical training will have to be enforced for a number of years to come, till such time when compulsion shall become unnecessary. At the same time, a minimum requirement will have to be worked out for the Universities which would be enforced in all the colleges in India. At present, even where compulsory physical training is in force, the actual programme to be followed is left to the individual colleges with the result that many colleges are satisfied with merely recording the attendance of the students without giving them an attractive programme. Universities must appoint Physical Directors who will see that the minimum standards are maintained and that an adequate programme is provided for every college student.

At the University stage, a student is physically grown up, or very nearly so, and more emphasis should be given to the vigorous type of team games, track and field athletics, boxing, wrestling, etc., (aquatics where possible), rather than to formal exercise and apparatus work. At the same time, it is important that every student is encouraged to take up some

game, like tennis or cricket, which he can continue to play for a number of years even after leaving the college.

More emphasis must be given to intramural athletics. College athletics have come to mean college teams in the various games and sports, while the great majority are left uncared for. A programme of intramural competitions should therefore be given greater importance.

Inter-University competitions must be properly organised and conducted by experts who should form the personnel of the Inter-University Sports Board. A great deal of improvement in this direction is necessary.

Each college must have its Department of Physical Education with a Physical Director of outstanding abilities at its head. The Physical Director must have assistants and coaches for special games, according to the strength of the College. Physical Directors must be given a salary and status equal to other important teaching members on the college staff. It may be mentioned that even in British Universities the need for such Physical Directors has been felt, and that some of them have already appointed qualified men on their staff. In the U.S.A., this has been in practice for many years and the results have been very satisfactory.

From the physical and medical examinations of college students conducted by the Universities of Calcutta, Punjab and Madras, it is evident that a majority of college students suffer from some remediable defect or other. This shows the need for an efficient health education programme in the colleges. Instruction in personal and community health must be a significant phase of this programme. The college doctor and the college physical director should work out a harmonious,

co-ordinated programme of health and physical education.

*Physical Education for Girls and Women.*—The education of girls lags behind that of boys and in physical education their position is even worse. More facilities should be provided throughout the country for the education of girls. The social disabilities and customs which stand in the way of their getting their due share of out-door life, play, exercise, etc., must be removed by educating the parents and the public.

The programme for girls depends on their age. Till about the age of eleven in India, boys and girls may play the same games. They enjoy activities such as running, chasing, dodging, climbing, swinging, skipping, hopping, jumping, vaulting, swimming, etc. Games of minor organisation are also suitable for this age. Competitions between boys and girls in running, jumping, throwing, etc., are also permissible till this age.

A distinction is to be made in certain respects between the physical education to be given to the girls and the physical education to be given to the boys after this age. The distinction is based on certain biological and psychological factors associated with adolescence. Girls should avoid violent exercises, games, sports etc., indulged in freely by boys of their age. Girls could compete in running, skipping, dancing, swimming, etc., with other girls and could also begin to take part in team games such as net ball, throw ball, ring tennis, badminton, tennis, playground ball, hockey, kho-kho, atya-patya, etc. Rhythmic exercises, especially those which can be performed to the accompaniment of music and song are eminently suitable to girls as also any form of calisthenics, lezim, club swinging, tiparaya, zimma, phugadi, garba dances and many others. Indeed,



India has a rich heritage of folk and classical dances, and these should find a very significant place in the physical education programme for girls and women. Also posture training should be very much stressed.

Physical education for women after the age of twenty is very much neglected in India. So, during their school and college career, they should be taught games and exercises which they could continue in later life. Games like badminton, activities like walking, skipping, swimming, etc., can be indulged in throughout life. Keep-fit exercises also may be taken regularly.

The primary aim of education for girls should be to enable them now to be happy and healthy at their present stage of life, and as adults to be efficient members of the community; and to make the majority become strong and sturdy mothers, able to run a home efficiently and look after their children intelligently. Their education, therefore, must be different from the present day system and should lay stress on their health, growth, and development through exercise, play, and on a sound programme of health education. Mother craft, child care, anatomy, physiology, personal, home and community hygiene, nutrition, etc., may be taught as part of their health education studies.

Educated, trained leadership is essential. Teachers trained for at least two years in Physical Education and Health Education will be required. Every encouragement should be given to the trained personnel by way of salary and status.

**Recreation for Rural Areas.**—Provision of recreation for the rural areas is the backbone of a national scheme as almost 90 per cent. of the population of India live in villages. Therefore greater facilities, aid, and direction for recreation

will have to be provided in rural areas. There still exist in rural areas, villages and small towns, the Akhadas, Gradies, Talimkhanas, which were once the centres of physical education in India. Their utility and influence should be extended. More of similar training centres with adequate facilities, equipment and leadership may be started.

Every village should be helped to develop its own recreation centre. Rural recreation leaders must be trained and appointed to initiate a community recreation programme for every village and to organise inter-village competitions, etc. Such programmes should always be promoted with the co-operation of the people. Gradually the villagers should be made to feel their responsibilities in maintaining the recreation centre as a village institution. In the early stages, financial assistance should be given to it by the Government. The shifting of the financial responsibility to the people must be gradual. The training of young villagers as community recreation leaders will be necessary in order to extend this programme to all the villages. Occasionally, all these villagers may be brought together for a common participation in a recreational programme, and such celebrations could be timed with a festival. The amount of good that will come from such recreational centres is immense, provided the leadership offered is of the right type. They provide opportunities for educated young men to serve the country and help to build up a healthy, efficient and happy India.

Rural Recreation Officers, to organise village recreation, must be specially trained in the Physical Education Colleges. The success of this scheme will depend on their enthusiasm, initiative and organising capacity.

*Urban Public Recreation.*—The Government, the Municipalities and the Local Bodies should accept the responsibility for organising public recreation through playgrounds and allied services. Here is a field of preventive medicine for building up positive health. It can counteract the evil effects of slums and slum habits, offer counter-attractions to the drink evil and other pernicious habits, and solve the problem of leisure. This can be achieved by providing plenty of open areas, especially in congested localities, with facilities for recreation and exercise. It is possible to co-ordinate public recreation and school physical education in such a way that the schools may use the facilities during the school hours and the public during the other hours. The importance and value of public recreation has been recognised in all the advanced countries. In India the need is urgent for providing all the possible facilities for people to “re-create” themselves. There should be centralised control, professional guidance and supervision, free flow of necessary equipment, organisation and co-ordination of a city-wide programme.

Proper leadership is the key to the realisation of the maximum results. The technique of imparting education through recreation and of building up health and physical fitness, has to be acquired through professional training on the broad foundation of a liberal and general education, sound character, and love of sports, games, recreation and outdoor life. A great deal depends on the choice of leaders. This field of community service should be properly explored by the Municipal and Local bodies. They should set up a separate department of recreation on a par with the other departments as in England, the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R. There is no use treating it as an unimportant

appendage to any other department whatever may be the administrative conveniences. By that arrangement we cannot expect any drive, initiative, planning, progress and efficiency of service, especially when a lot of pioneering in the field has yet to be done.

The recreational facilities that are suggested already exist in abundance in almost all the progressive countries of the world. It is high time that the following features at least are provided in a comprehensive city-wide scheme of organised public recreation for men, women, boys, girls and children :—

1. Playgrounds and Recreation Centres (Community Centres).
2. Aquatics—Swimming Pools, facilities for boating, etc.
3. Gymnasias—for Indian and Foreign Gymnastics, Boxing, Wrestling, etc.
4. Enclosed Playing Fields such as stadii, etc.
5. Organised Fore-shores, Sand-accretions, Riverbeds, etc.
6. Organised Camp-sites outside Municipal limits but within easy reach.

*Recreation for Industrial Workers.*—The first step towards re-creating the lives of the workers and their families is to do away with the slums and provide sanitary dwelling colonies. Otherwise, the conditions and effects of slum-living are so deleterious that all the ameliorative measures taken will be wasted, without yielding substantial results. After all, by

the influx of the industries the Government and the Municipalities have been benefitted immensely, and as such there is a moral obligation on their part to solve the problem of industrial housing in a satisfactory way and to provide community centres for healthy, social and community life.

The industries should be made to pay towards securing the physical fitness and health of their workers and their families. It will ultimately contribute towards industrial efficiency, health, harmony, and maximum production. Thus it will be in the best interests of the industries themselves as well as that of the workers to legislate for a comprehensive scheme of recreation under the guidance of experts on industrial recreation, and to arrange the supervision of the same under the auspices of the Government. Organised recreation can counteract the evil effects of mechanised routine work which is characterised by monotony and repetition. A well organised programme should cater to the recreational needs of the workers inside and outside the factories, near to and away from their homes, in various types of active and passive recreational activities. A healthy working class will be an asset to the industries as well as to society.

The facilities of industrial recreation that have been suggested here are nothing Utopian. They are in vogue in almost all the progressive countries of the world. The key to its success lies in the provision of expert direction and adequate leadership. The recreational movement is a challenge to industry. Post-war India will be industrialised a great deal and the problem of industrial recreation will have to be accepted sooner or later and the sooner it is done the better it will be for all those concerned.

*Training of Leaders.*—The leadership available for promoting health, physical education and recreation in India is not anywhere near the number required for this big country. India has only 40,000 doctors—one doctor for every 9,000 of the population. More doctors means more medical colleges.

There are only five Physical Education Colleges, namely, the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education, Madras ; the Training Institute of Physical Education, Bombay ; the College of Physical Education, Hyderabad ; and the Lucknow Christian College of Physical Education. At a rough estimate, the total number of Physical Education teachers trained from all these training centres so far may be between 2,500 and 3,000. These figures go to show the inadequacy of the number of training colleges and trained leaders.

India needs at least one Physical Education College in each one of its Provinces and Indian States. Men and women possessing training in Health, Physical Education and Recreation are needed in large numbers. Universities, Colleges, and schools require highly educated and adequately trained physical directors and coaches. Industrial concerns want persons with training in Recreation and Health Education. Recreation leaders and playground supervisors are required for urban public playgrounds. Rural India needs thousands of community leaders for providing recreation for the millions of villagers living in the 700,000 villages.

To keep abreast with modern developments in Health, Physical Education and Recreation, India must be prepared to send out experienced men and women in the profession for post-graduate study in the West. Sweden and Denmark have

Physical Education Colleges offering a four year degree course. There are Physical Education Colleges in England which offer advance courses in Physical Education. In the U.S.A. the Columbia, the Chicago and the Stanford Universities offer post-graduate degree courses.

Indian students must be helped, as in other fields of education, with scholarships and other facilities to proceed to the West. Scholarships and studentships may

be obtained from the colleges and universities both in the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. A system of exchange of members of the faculty of Physical Education colleges in India and the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. may be arranged. The experience and training thus gained by our students in the Western countries will be of great help in the reconstruction of India to which our Statesmen are directing their time and energies.

# INDUSTRIAL ABSENTEEISM.

J. J. PANAKAL

Absenteeism which is considerable is not only lowering the income of our working classes but also seriously hampering production. In the following analysis of the problem the writer traces the causes to various social, physical and psychological factors and suggests that better methods of record keeping, improvement of working conditions, a well co-ordinated welfare programme and a more efficient personnel leadership will conduce to the control of this wasteful phenomenon.

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Industrial efficiency is one of the important aspects of the labour problem. Efficiency not only makes an enterprise successful but also provides the worker the chance of earning higher wages and developing both his body and mind. It is closely linked to regularity of attendance, so much so that regularity of attendance may be regarded as the foundation of industrial efficiency. It is the purpose of this article to study the problem of absenteeism which is seriously affecting the industrial efficiency of our workers.

Absenteeism continues to be regarded as an ever-present evil, which persistently obstructs production. The report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India observes: "We met widespread complaints of *absenteeism*, but this is an omnibus term covering absence from many causes. There are few managers who can say precisely which workers are away because they are idling, which are kept away by sickness, and which have gone on holiday meaning to return. Even workers who have left with no intention of returning may be treated for a time as absentees." The term absenteeism denotes facts so many and various that it is often misunderstood. According to Webster's dictionary absenteeism is "the practice by an employee, or a group of employees, of absenting himself, or themselves, from work especially when continued or often repeated." This implies that the word "absenteeism" is accurately used only when the worker voluntarily keeps away from work; and that a worker absent because of illness,

accident or other causes would not be guilty of absenteeism. But others have used the term to cover all absences from work. For our purpose we may take absenteeism to mean the unexplained absence of the worker from his job during regularly scheduled working hours. A workman often violates the necessary discipline of the employer's firm in several ways. On many occasions he is absent from work through illness or other adequate reason. But if the workman does not tell the employer why he is absent then he fails in his duty and the employer is at liberty to consider it as a wilful failure on the part of the worker. In certain circumstances the employer may even decide to treat the unexplained absence as a reason for disciplinary action. It would be a serious breach of contract if the workman voluntarily absents himself from work for his own pleasure.

*Losses Due to Absenteeism.*—The losses due to absenteeism can be broadly divided as losses to the company and losses to the employee. Losses to the company mainly include the economic loss due to the indirect costs resulting from absenteeism. It adds considerably to production costs and greatly reduces the efficiency of the factory as a whole. Absenteeism, whether avoidable or unavoidable, causes considerable dislocation of work; and it becomes especially serious if the persons involved hold key positions and cannot be replaced readily by workers from other departments. Moreover, by not informing the authorities of intended absence, absentee workers

often leave the various departments stranded. Although workers who absent themselves from their scheduled shifts are supposed to notify their supervisors or the personnel department earlier, few do so. Absence of an employee causes discontent among other employees who are sometimes forced to face unusual situations, for extra work is thrown on those who are present. There is a possibility of greater discontent arising when an employee is transferred to replace an absentee. The same situation arises when employees who are present are made to carry out the work of the absentees without the help of additional hands. Thus the more conscientious are liable to suffer. Otherwise machines and other equipments remain idle. In such circumstances extra men will have to be taken in, which means extra cost. Moreover, extra men are not always experienced hands.

Shortage of working hands leads to the employment of persons who would otherwise find no place in an efficient factory with the consequence that the quality of production is lowered. When inexperienced hands are put to carry on production, accidents are very frequent, thus giving rise to the complex and costly

issues of compensation. Possible losses may also be sustained by way of damages to machinery arising from the inexperience of the substitute. In addition, the supervisor who has very little time to spare has to devote his valuable time to placing another employee on the work. Thus irregular attendance tells on the quality of work.

Losses are also sustained by the employees. Absenteeism leads to impairment of working class income, resulting in serious consequences. The Bombay Labour Office carried out wages investigations in May 1926 in the case of Ahmedabad, and in July 1926 in the case of Bombay and Sholapur. The enquiries were based on the actual muster rolls of selected mills in each of the three centres. The average monthly earnings of all operatives so far as they were available, and the percentage and average earnings of all operatives who worked without any absence were calculated. The figures for the average monthly earnings of all workers were much below the average monthly earnings of those workers who worked without any absence ; which meant that the low monthly earnings of those who absented themselves from work very frequently were responsible for this wide difference.

*Table showing differences in wages of workers due to absenteeism. <sup>(1)</sup>*

Group	Centre	Average monthly earnings of all workers.	Workers who worked without any absence.	
			%	Average monthly earnings.
Men	Bombay	37—10—2	53	44— 3— 6
	Ahmedabad	...	56	38— 4— 0
	Sholapur	23—15—6	31	26—10— 2
Women	Bombay	17—12—4	33	20— 4— 6
	Ahmedabad	...	56	21— 1— 6
	Sholapur	9—15—7	25	11— 6— 7
Children	Ahmedabad	...	70	9— 4— 6
	Sholapur	5—10—4	36	6—13—10

(1) Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, Page 197.

*Causes of Absenteeism.*—The causes of absenteeism are numerous and only a broad division can be made between voluntary and unavoidable absenteeism, but this classification is not rigid. Certain events occur in the everyday life of the average individual which force him to remain away from work. Undesirable management is often a direct or indirect cause of absenteeism. There are, besides certain specific conditions, which are responsible for poor attendance in given cases. Causes of absenteeism may be further classified into those within the factory and those arising from situations outside the factory, or into those pertaining especially to general management and labour conditions, or according to the various trades and occupations.

Unsuitable working conditions naturally tend to increase absenteeism. Among the conditions inside the factory leading to avoidable absence are the long hours per shift, unsatisfactory shift rotation, and the number of days worked in a week. Long hours, unduly fatiguing work, unsuitable temperatures, insufficient ventilation and unscientific lighting may raise both illness and absence rates well above the normal for comparable workers in other industries. It has been proved that seven days even of only seven and half hours each are more exhausting than a six day week of an average nine hours. Unnecessary industrial noise contributes to fatigue and may impair efficiency of workers. Ill-advised methods of instruction and training not only discourage employees but also train them improperly. Also the question of job-placement is of special importance ; for misplacing leads to absenteeism, fatigue and accidents.

The mental attitude of the worker should be taken into consideration in tracing the causes of absenteeism. Two conditions of mind which particularly affect younger workers are boredom and the lack of a complete understanding of how vital is the work they are doing. Defects in factory organisation play a great part in causing boredom. Idle time, unless it is unavoidable, is liable to increase absence by creating general dissatisfaction. Wage issues may also lead to discontent if the workers consider the methods of calculating wages to be unfair. Inefficient supervisors create friction, personal dislike and other undesirable labour management problems. So the systems of payment and the attitude of the supervisory staff influence the incidence of absenteeism to a very great extent.

Absence may also be caused by lack of provisions for general welfare such as abundance of canteen arrangements, rest rooms, sanitary facilities and recreation. Fatigue is probably increased by inadequate welfare facilities. It is not difficult for a fatigued person to think he is ill, and then the step to being ill is not a long one. Consequently absence due to sickness increases. Illness accounts for at least half the total amount of working time lost. Frequent and repeated absences are almost always due to incidental ill-health. Time lost through sickness absence constitutes a formidable problem in India. The following table gives the percentage of absenteeism due to sickness in Bengal Jute Mill, Sibpur, Howrah for the year 1942<sup>(2)</sup>.

January	2.4	July	6.6
February	3.5	August	10.7
March	2.8	September	9.3
April	2.3	October	6.08
May	5.1	November	7.6
June	6.3	December	4.7

(2) Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *The Indian Working Class*, Page 38.

In terms of the amount of time lost and the consequent disorganisation of production processes involved, industrial illness is a serious problem. Everyday there is a great loss of production from the so-called minor injuries of the type of septic fingers and hands. Apparently these are trivial injuries, but in fact they are a major cause of absenteeism, often prolonged by the worker's own neglect and by the inadequate provision of medical attention in the factory. Improper nutrition is another contributing factor. A great deal of distress and discomfort and some loss of time from work is caused by the impairment or failure of normal digestion. The chief hazards of industrial life from the standpoint of lost time due to sickness are the respiratory diseases including the common cold, influenza, bronchitis, pneumonia and tuberculosis.

Absenteeism increases as marginal workers are drawn into the labour force. Their economic standard is a fruitful source of trouble. Workers from the marginal or fringe group are not usually accustomed to steady work or regular living habits. Therefore they find regular attendance irksome and factory work uninteresting. They absent themselves immediately following pay-day. Some have no social conscience and work because of economic necessity. Consequently they do not hesitate to take time off for leisure activities.

Desire for rest and enjoyment accounts for quite a large number of absentees. When a relative or friend happens to pay a visit to the worker's home, he prefers to spend his time in their company. The Indian worker spends a lot of time on feasts and festivities, religious or otherwise. Some keep away from work in order to observe fasts. Some

do not lead well-ordered lives, they over-indulge in late hours, gambling and playing. They take to liquor and in various ways impose excessive strain on their physical and mental capacities.

Climatic reasons are also undoubtedly important contributory factors. Absenteeism is higher in the winter months or during the rainy season. The difficulties of transportation over long distances which workers have to travel must be taken into consideration. The Indian worker has at his disposal very little transport facilities. Workers who have long journeys to make to their factories are more frequently absent than those who have easy journeys. Absenteeism reaches a high figure owing to unsuitable and very bad housing conditions. Some workers are forced to absent themselves from work and spend their time in house and apartment hunting. Because housing conditions are inadequate some workers leave their families in villages. This in turn increases absenteeism as persons working at long distances from their homes desire to visit them periodically. Thus the absence of adequate accommodation near the factories contributes to absenteeism.

*Women and Absenteeism.*—The woman in industry has been criticised as a frequent absentee. She absents more often from work. This is true even in cases where no marked differences exist in working conditions or in the nature of work. Hence, when women are employed to operate a plant, more workers are necessary than when men are used. Married women lose more time than the unmarried, for they have to cope with the factory job as well as the home job. Expectant motherhood, care of children, sickness, the return on leave of husbands, sons and sweethearts also lead to their absence. Sickness means that the wife has to remain



at home more than the husband. Again, the sheer necessity of a day periodically for shopping and other household duties is another factor which contributes to the absence of women from work.

In India the statistics relating to absenteeism are not accurate. Comparatively few studies have been made on this important subject. The report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India has drawn particular attention to the necessity of investigation into absenteeism and its causes. At present it is very difficult to obtain comparable information for any large number of firms. The following table is of interest as it gives an idea of the extent of absenteeism in the Textile Mills of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Nagpur in the year 1941<sup>(3)</sup>.

Bombay	9.5	percent.
Ahmedabad	4.48	"
Sholapur	12.30	"
Nagpur (Empress Mills, day shift only)	17.26	"

From this it is clear that the incidence of absenteeism is not negligible; and the same fact characterises the labour of our other industries. When the time for starting the machinery arrives there are often insufficient hands and substitutes will have to be employed to take their place. Therefore, it is found necessary to have a surplus of labour on the books of mills to provide for such regular contingencies. Whenever the figures of absenteeism are high we find in the important industrial centres a reserve of workers accustomed to fill casual vacancies as they arise. But this is a very costly method of fighting the evil.

Most of our workers come from villages, and continue to maintain their connections with their rural homes. When

it is time for work in the fields they leave their place in the industries. What is true of the textile industry is true of the mining industry also. Several investigations have been carried out and some reliable information is available. Of the entire daily paid labour only a small percentage work regularly. A great majority of the miners are cultivators and great irregularities in attendance result when miners leave their work to look after the needs of agriculture.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, in his book "The Indian Working Class," indicates the causes of absenteeism in mines as arising from :

1. "Engagement in the fields, marriages and festivals accounting for approximately 75% of the withdrawals."
2. "Drunkenness or relaxation accounting for 20% of the absence."
3. "Sickness accounting for 5% of the absence."

The transport industry is in no better position. The report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India has brought out the fact that, "A large proportion of railway workers, particularly the unskilled classes, are drawn from agriculture, and many of the gangmen and others return to such work, especially at sowing and harvesting times."

Some interesting facts regarding absenteeism have been revealed by various surveys. Absences are less wherever there is a sense of duty and responsibility amongst the workers. As regards sickness absence the one-day absence is the commonest type. Apart from accidents and ill-health the rate of absenteeism is found to vary with such factors as the age and sex of workers, earnings, length of the

(3) Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *The Indian Working Class*, Page 36.

working day, local customs, or the distance between the working place and the workers' homes. Also the frequency and extent to which workers are absent vary according to the situation and type of the factory. There exists a wide variation in absence rates in the different firms. Those with a high absence rate are on the whole larger concerns. This might be due to the impersonality of larger concerns in which the increasing distance between management and men and the decreasing consideration given to individuals lead to greater absences. Longer hours of work, as has been observed earlier, result in increased absence. Factories with a week-end break of at least one and a half days have less absence from all causes than those working six or seven days a week. Those who worked larger number of hours a week lost more days than those working only for a shorter number of hours per week.

Absenteeism increases when conditions of work are noticeably unsatisfactory. It also varies from time to time, rising to an appreciable extent during the harvest and malarial seasons. Usually in the beginning of the month the rate is high but by the time the pay-day approaches, it reaches its minimum. In some of the large and comparatively new undertakings located a long way from the workers' homes and often employing many women unused to factory work, the absence rate is high. In smaller old established firms within easy travelling distance it is smaller. When the mill becomes dependent partly on local and partly on outside labour, absenteeism rises.

*Records of Absenteeism.*—The first essential in a programme of control of absenteeism is the determination of where, when and under what conditions absenteeism is occurring. This is not obtainable without a close check-up of each

instance. In many factories there are elaborate and accurate systems for preparing records, making assessments and estimates connected with the industrial organisation, but reliable knowledge on absenteeism is not available. It is a remarkable fact that relatively few organisations systematically record absences, and some who do fail to utilise the records. Since no standard procedure has been established for either collecting basic statistical data or for computing absenteeism rates, it is almost impossible to compare or correlate the results of studies.

In any attempt to tackle the problem of absenteeism seriously, the first and essential step to be taken is to compile adequate statistics and records of absenteeism. There should be for each group of organisation an accurate daily entry of each person's presence or absence which should be carefully recorded. Records should be kept on cards giving information as to the age, sex, department, date of starting employment, duration of absence, cause or reason given for absence, and medical diagnosis in case of sickness. From this information thus available a very useful set of statistics can be built up analysing absenteeism according to age, sex, length of service, cause, duration, etc. The periodic analysis of the records will point to conditions requiring attention, and to appropriate methods of control.

The method of record keeping determines absenteeism rate. For instance, an employee may find a new job and quit the old one. Many workers who had quit with no intention of returning, but without so notifying the company, were counted as absent, until the decision of dropping them from the pay-roll came into force. Thus such persons are for a time treated as absentees. And as the number of such

absentees is considerable, it affects absenteeism rates making their accurate measurement difficult.

The basic data required for calculating absenteeism rates are :—

1. The total number of workers employed.
2. The total number of production hours or shifts or days lost.
3. The total number of production hours or shifts or days worked.

There are several methods of expressing absenteeism rates, some organisations preferring one and some another. The alternatives in use are the following :—

1. The total number of people absent expressed as a percentage of the total number employed.
2. Absenteeism rates are usually calculated as the ratio of the number of production hours, shifts or days lost to the total numbers of production hours, shifts or days for which work was available multiplied by the number employed.
3. Losses from absenteeism are computed by some on the basis of the total number of production hours, shifts or days lost by hundred workers or by individual workers.

The base period in the above cases can be a week, a month, a year or a hundred working days. They are measured by reference to the departments or the plant as a whole. The calculation of the number of working hours lost will be particularly useful in cases where weekly or monthly figures are desired. In these cases to avoid fractions or decimal places some percentage form mentioned above or the number of hours could be worked

out instead of days. Where the number of persons employed fluctuates from week to week the average number of persons employed over the period is taken. What is being measured is absence from work and not the incidence of sickness and other matters. So only working days should be included in the record. Sundays and other holidays should be excluded.

In working out absenteeism rates men and women should be mentioned separately. A more detailed differentiation according to age groups, length of service, nature of work, etc., is very desirable. Especially if the organisation is large enough such analysis is useful. The various causes should be tabulated according to their incidence. It is particularly helpful in seeking a remedy for high absenteeism rates.

Causes of absence due to sickness should be subdivided according to medical diagnosis. It is usually difficult to obtain detailed medical diagnosis ; for short absences are not covered by medical certificates and sometimes the medical diagnoses are vague. They only convey the idea that the doctor has enough reason to believe that the patient concerned is not fit for work. It is not necessary to produce a long and often useless list of diseases. A table which is more manageable and which will not obscure the data for comparative purposes is all that is needed. Then the number of days ascribed to each of the causes of sickness absence could be calculated and expressed as a percentage of the total loss.

The organisation of some firms is such that only the absence and not the reason of absence can be known. In such cases a classification of the spells of absence will be more useful. Moreover, it is sometimes important to know whether the average rate is due to many workers

having short periods of absence or a few absent over long periods. To determine this, the spells of absence can be classified into one-day absences, absences up to one week, absences up to a month and absences lasting for more than a month.

The short absence of less than a week affects many, whereas the long absence of over a month accounts only for a small number of spells of absence. The one-day absence is the most frequent. A firm's success lies in reducing this. It is useful to institute comparison between different departments, so that if wide discrepancies are discovered further investigations can be carried out.

*Control and Prevention.*—The problem of immediate concern is one of prevention and control of absenteeism for which no single and simple solution can be suggested. Various devices to grapple with this evil of absenteeism have been put into practice. It has been found that co-operation between management and workers and between all groups in the factory is one of the strongest incentives to regularity. The employer as well as the employee should realise the importance of "being on the job." Absence is lowest where they help each other to solve the problems of production, discipline and policy. A substantial improvement in the methods of personnel management is sure to result in the reduction of absenteeism. This would involve training in the practices and outlook of modern personnel management, the keeping and utilisation of better records and a less critical attitude to the shortcoming of the employees. The building up of industrial morale and good relationship between employers and workers has a very salutary effect and it may be stated that the ability of management and men to establish good relationships is the most important single

factor in keeping the absenteeism rate low. Since the mental attitude of the worker is of utmost importance, individual cases need special handling. Most persons require the satisfaction that comes from being accepted and being recognised as persons of real merit. Money is nothing more than a part of this social recognition. The way in which his superior greets him, the faith that is shown in him by asking him to keep an eye on a difficult job, or to carry out an important piece of work or to help a newcomer—all these are acts of social recognition. In this manner, an employee gets an insight into his own position in a work-group. Morale thus built up is the most important element among the psychological factors controlling absenteeism.

The solution to the problem of reducing avoidable absenteeism lies in finding ways and means of stimulating the inclination to work. The worker is always impelled by an inner urge to find an environment where he can take root. There he must get a sense of belonging. He must have a real function, must see the purpose of his work and feel important in doing it. The management cannot be indifferent to this important question.

The advantages of good working conditions are too obvious to need emphasis. Working environments should be well-kept and as attractive as working conditions will allow. Cleanliness should be the general rule. The Indian Factories Act provides that factories should be kept clean and free from impurities arising from gas, vapour, dust, etc. Some of the larger factories in India tolerably fulfill these conditions. The smaller and seasonal factories which are backward in this respect have yet to realise the significance of this problem.

There is also considerable scope for improvement in conditions bearing on

industrial health such as sufficient light, ventilation and adequate sanitary arrangements. A good number of our factories are defectively constructed, from the point of view of both light and air, the arrangements being most inadequate. Moreover, unnecessary industrial noise should be minimised by taking the assistance of sound-proofing experts.

Hours of work is another important factor. Working hours should not exceed forty eight per week for men, and if possible, less for women. For continuous efficient production, eight hours a day in a forty eight hour week is the most suitable. The worker should have sufficient energy for taking part in social and cultural activities. For certain classes of workers, in particular for heavy manual workers and women with home duties, the present working hours are too long. As has already been pointed out earlier, investigations have proved that a short working week on the time-clock resulted in a longer realised working week because there were fewer absences from work. The problem of arranging working shifts and the personnel to man them is difficult and requires considerable study. Individual cases should be adjusted to suit living conditions or other personal requirements.

The Factories Act provides for periods of rest during the day. The most suitable length and frequency of rest pauses vary with the type of work. For a majority of jobs a single break in the middle of the work-spell is sufficient. The week-end break is also important. Weekly hours of work should, whenever possible, be spaced over five and a half days a week for day work and six shifts for night work.

As regards the job itself, adjustment of the worker to the machine as in sitting

and the arrangement of work on the bench and other devices to avoid excessive strain and waste of energy can be made. More care should be taken in the selection and training of workers so that they can be put on jobs for which he or she is most fitted physically and mentally. Machines, equipment and processes should be re-engineered for women or physically handicapped workers. Placement of the workers in the various departments should be watched and the necessary replacements should be made promptly. Safety regulations should be more strictly enforced. A well-integrated accident prevention programme must be put into practice. This should include activities designed to assist the employee and his family in avoiding injury off-the-job, in the home or on the streets.

Fatigue and boredom which not infrequently cause absenteeism are very closely related. The principal remedy for fatigue is rest. A night's rest should restore normal energy if the work done during the day has been reasonable. The return to normal strength is very slow if the fatigued state is prolonged on the part of the worker. Monotony of repetitive jobs should be alleviated. It can sometimes be broken by giving the workers a change of job without interrupting the flow of production. Music if suitable and played at intervals is one of the best antidotes to fatigue and boredom. If the employee gets the feeling that the work he is doing is not very important, it will inevitably lead to boredom. In such cases interest in individual work can be stimulated by giving the workers an intelligent picture of the important part played by their respective jobs. More care should be given to the question of grouping the workers. As far as possible workers of similar tastes and temperaments should be put together. The management should put into effect

an elaborate scheme of labour welfare measures which help to lessen fatigue and boredom. In order to keep employees on the job and keep them doing work of good quality, provision must be made for their purchase of good nourishing food. This should be made available at prices which they can afford to pay, but due to ignorance many workers do not make use of the services even when they are available; therefore, information regarding the numerous services should be given to the employees.

Life outside the factory is equally important. Every effort should be made to aid the employees in their transport difficulties. Improved facilities for moving workers to and from the plant is necessary and they should receive advice regarding the least expensive and quickest methods of travel.

In communities where adequate indoor and outdoor recreational facilities are not available for workers on all shifts, the management must install recreation rooms, movie shows, etc. Nursery schools and arrangements to facilitate shopping tend to reduce absenteeism amongst married women. Many local and community establishments providing personal services can be found who will be glad to make arrangements to keep open during special hours so that employees on all shifts can avail themselves of their services. Shopping time can be reduced by establishing food-stores, barber shops and other facilities on or near the factory premises. It is desirable to establish a retail store where a few of the more commonly used commodities may be readily purchased by the workers.

Many workers lose time in trying to get their ration cards. To avoid this the time and date of issue of ration cards should be adjusted ; or they may be

distributed on the plant premises itself. A certain amount of absenteeism is caused by the worker moving about in search of a dwelling. To avoid this the management should either itself provide housing accommodation or, at least, conduct occasional surveys of property for sale and to rent to inform those employees who are in need of tenements.

Medical and first aid facilities should be adequate and as complete as possible. Also the rapidity with which first aid cases can be handled enables the worker to return to their normal duties without much delay. Employees should be thoroughly acquainted with the available medical services and they should be encouraged to make use of them. During periods of epidemics, sickness absenteeism rates may rise sharply and cause a good deal of disorganisation in factories. Particular attention has to be paid to minimise the effect of such epidemics.

Special precautions should be taken to minimise the risk of infection in work-rooms. The psychological effects of such precaution are considerable as it gives the workers confidence. Employees should be urged to go to the medical department for examination as soon as they feel any symptoms of illness. Any worker who is obviously ill should be sent home at once. Some firms definitely discourage those suffering from colds from remaining at work. They believe that a day at home is useful in preventing a serious attack and in limiting the spread of infection among other workers. No person should be penalised in any way for staying away from work for even a slight attack of influenza, or any other form of fever. On the other hand, workers should be urged to do so.

Many large organisations in America offer the services of a company nurse

when their workers are sick. The nurse makes a friendly visit to the workers to render whatever assistance is possible. After that she makes a report of the probable duration of absence, and the need for further assistance. When workers return to work after sickness they are often required to bring a physician's certificate. In firms where there are medical or welfare departments in existence workers should be required to meet the official in charge on their return. Some managers regard this as a waste of time, but it is a useful precaution to reduce absence due to trivial causes.

The following plan was introduced in an American factory for checking absenteeism. "If a man is out sick, he is paid full wages for the first week, from the day of absence, half wages for the second and then the case is brought for consideration. A doctor's certificate must be produced on the third day. This enables the foreman to send a man home as soon as he thinks his presence at work is a danger to himself or his workmates. Because the complaint is thus tackled in time and the man is relieved of the financial worry, he probably recovers quickly, and is back at work within two or three days. After three days he has the benefit of his pay plus health insurance, for his expenses are usually heavier when he is ill. The firm state that many years' experience shows that malingers are extremely few and they are soon spotted."

Pre-employment physical examination, when used as a part of the health services, tends to reduce absenteeism. Since physical examination is the keystone of industrial health work the tendency in industry to use more care in the selection of applicants through pre-employment physical examinations should be encouraged.

In the control of sickness absence, it is possible for the supervisor to be of considerable assistance. His importance can hardly be overestimated for he is in an excellent position to influence the attitude of the workers with whom he is always in personal contact. Through interviews he can get at most of the facts in order to arrive at the causes of absence. He can easily understand his men and their individual differences, and handle their grievances promptly. The attitude which the supervisor takes towards absences due to various reasons should be constructive. By his treatment of the workers and his understanding of their problems he must set an example for those who work under him. It is quite easy for him to note unhealthful working conditions. Indications of disabling sickness which manifest themselves in the worker, as visible signs of ailments or in the decreased productivity always supply him with the necessary warning.

Much can be done in the direction of encouraging workers to notify the company of their contemplated absence in advance. As new employees are appointed the importance of observing company rules must be impressed upon them. They should be encouraged by every means to be on the job regularly. In case of any need for absence, reasonable rules require that the employee should immediately notify his departmental head or some other designated officer. The rules may specify that leave for absence must be received from the employee within a definite period of time, failing which the absentee's post would be filled up. At present there is no standard policy adopted regarding the time after which the absentees are dropped.

Methods of attacking absenteeism should be based on a careful analysis of

all the conditions leading to it. Rules of disciplinary action should recognise the wide range of casual factors. Some firms seek to maintain regularity of attendance by the imposition of penalties like warning, loss of pay, lay-off, discharge, etc. Punishment with fines for absence without permission has, no doubt, effect in checking individual absences but little on the total volume. In certain factories workers receive a fine of two days' wages for absence without leave. This is looked upon as a penal system and has rather unfortunate results on employer-employee relations. Such exacting action should always be avoided by the management.

The record keeping system should indicate the extent and specific causes of absenteeism in the company. Standardised forms should be used for maintaining a daily check on attendance. Causes which give rise to absenteeism in one particular place will be entirely different from those in another due to varying conditions. These records should be continually available for current analysis and properly maintained by the personnel department in close co-operation with the other departments. Each department should send an absence record to the personnel office half an hour after the beginning of each shift. This record should contain the name of each absentee and would as a matter of routine go in duplicate to the personnel department and the medical department. Absences can thus be looked into and the day's assignment of work arranged in accordance with the attendance.

When the reason for absence is unknown some companies depend upon the departmental head to investigate and others send a representative of the personnel department or send a form of letter requesting information. A fast moving follow-

up system to contact employees currently absent from work from unknown causes will be of immense use in throwing light on the problem. Follow up should be made preferably on the first day of unexplained absence. Each absentee should be interviewed by the nurse or staff-member of the personnel department before returning to work. The follow-up of absences involves very great difficulties, and it is a very delicate procedure. Everything depends on how and by whom it is carried out. The worker, especially when he is absent for reasons other than sickness, suspects the company representative. His visit, instead of being considered as a kind and considerate act of enquiry with the object of rendering help, may be interpreted as an objectionable intrusion into his personal affairs. Undoubtedly it is desirable to follow-up absentees by personal visits. The visits should be made by a kind and tactful woman who has, as her first concern, a solicitude for the welfare of the absent worker and of his family. Otherwise, the co-operation and goodwill of the workers cannot be retained.

Absentees should be interviewed on their return to work. They must be required to fill out a questionnaire, for the purpose of revealing underlying causes. This is an effective method of decreasing absenteeism.

Strong moral persuasion by posters, literature and talks appealing to commonsense have been fairly effective in holding men on to their jobs. Workers from marginal and fringe group can be assisted by sound advice regarding thrift, budgetting, etc. Positive work in bettering attendance can also be done by giving conspicuous notice and public recognition to those who are regular in attendance. Charts showing absenteeism rates in each department should be published so that



workers can have a chance of comparing the rates of different groups. In some plants competition among shifts and departments in the matter of maximum attendance has been found to be of value.

Absenteeism can also be reduced by education of the workers by labour leaders who may point out that unnecessary absence from work constitutes an offence against co-workers. When, as is done in some companies, chronic delinquents are brought for "trial" before a committee of workers, the amount of lost time is found to fall rapidly. In many cases attendance records of employees may be considered in determining promotions. Employees are usually paid attendance bonuses if they are regular in attendance. This form of recognition is an artificial and unsatisfactory method, as the manager has, from the very beginning, contracted the regular attendance of workers. It is in the nature of the agreement that the worker should carry out his obligations ; and paying attendance bonus should be considered as corrupting the worker by offering him a bribe.

Full and regular attendance is, indeed, very important but regular attendance—which is really a means—should not universally be made an end. It should not be forgotten that in some cases absences may be a physiologically sound "defence mechanism," dictated by the worker's feeling that he is tired of work and needs

a change. Any company which pursues a vigorous policy on regular attendance should be prepared to adopt the essential supplementary policy of an organised holiday system. The Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India points out the value of holidays and its good effects on discipline and efficiency. Many of our industries have no proper system of granting leave of absence with pay to their workers. If there is any provision for such leave, it is granted more as a matter of courtesy. It is easily granted only if there is no pressure of work in the factory. There should be proper leave rules and records and the rules may be revised, whenever necessary, after consulting the workers' representatives. Workers should be allowed to apply for definite periods of leave. The worker who leaves after an approved period of service, should be given the guarantee that he can rejoin if he returns at the proper time.

In conclusion it may be stated that there is no one method of controlling absenteeism. A lasting remedy for this serious evil should be sought in the co-ordination of all the devices we have suggested. In effect, it means that absenteeism can be permanently checked only by a radical overhauling of the administration of our industrial system in the interests of production as well as of the well-being of the workers.

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# MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL AREAS

MRS. L. J. SUKHANANDAN

Claiming that "there is a social implication in every disease", the writer suggests the improvement of the present medical services by the introduction of courses in Sociology and Psychology in the curriculum of medical studies and by the institution of medical social service as an auxiliary to the regular hospital departments.

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It has become clear in the past quarter of a century that in schools, courts, factories and hospitals we deal with so large a number of people that we lose sight of the individual in the type or class, such as a "pupil" in a school, "a prisoner" in the court, "a hand" in the factory and "a patient" in the hospital. Recognition of this danger led to the introduction of Social Workers like visiting teachers in schools, the probation officer in courts and the welfare workers in factories to discover and provide for those individual needs that are in danger of being lost sight of. The same need has led to the employment of such workers in hospitals. The unmanageable increase in the number of patients to be treated by the doctor made it difficult for him to know the details about his patient. Therefore, there arose the need for another specialist who could supplement the narrow knowledge of the physician. The doctor's work, besides, needs to be done in co-operation with some one who has the time and the ability to teach hygiene and to see that orders are carried out. The Social Worker can create confidence for the doctor in the patient, and *vice-versa*.

Though hospital social work has existed in one form or another from the earliest times, it was only in the beginning of the twentieth century that it began to be defined and recognised clearly. Dr. Calmette of Lille was the first person to see that, in the fight against tuberculosis,

it was essential to make contact with the home by means of the home-visitor and to treat the disease there as well as in the dispensary by disinfection and sterilization. Granater, another Frenchman, went still further. He planned the separation of children from the neighbourhood of tubercular patients as an essential measure for preventing contagion, thus leading the physicians to extend their interest to the persons who did not present themselves at the dispensary. About this time there were three forms of social service undertaken in England.

1. There was the after-care of patients, discharged as cured or convalescent from English hospitals for the insane, by the visitor whose work was to carry out the instructions given by the physician and to prevent lapses.
2. Lady Almoners appointed to investigate whether patients were genuinely destitute or not began to be interested in the patient's social condition and
3. Visiting nurses employed by the Board of Health for the care of contagious diseases and for the nursing of the poor sick in their homes were forced to take into consideration their patient's economic, mental and moral difficulties.

In the United States the prototype of hospital social work of to-day can be traced back to 1859 when Dr. Blackwell founded the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. She visited the homes of her patients and sent a lady worker to teach mothers the care of their homes and their children. A further contribution was made by Dr. Emerson whose students were made to visit at least one or two homes of poor families, to study their conditions of health in order to understand their diseases. In 1904 Miss Maxwell started a movement to make student nurses distribute milk and eggs amongst advanced cases of tuberculosis. But, it was in Boston that a real beginning of hospital social service was made by Dr. Cabot. He established in 1905 a full-time, paid Social Worker at the Massachusetts General Hospital to help physicians in improving their diagnosis and in helping to meet the patient's needs, economic, mental and moral. In the thirteen years following this about 200 other hospitals in the United States started social service departments and by 1930 there were 554 such departments.

Having briefly examined its history, let us now attempt a definition of medical social work. It is a form of service to the patient whose ill-health may be aggravated by social factors and who therefore may require social treatment which is based on his condition and care. The services, according to the report of the committee on the Functions of Hospital Social Work, are the following :—

1. *Case Work* to care for in-patients and out-patients whose medical and social conditions indicate a need for adjustment in order to render their medical treatment effective and restore them to health and sound social condition.

2. *Research* into social causes of health conditions and behaviour.
3. *Education* to co-operate with schools of social work, give students insight into the environmental conditions of patients, interpret the hospital to the community, educate the public in hygiene and the relation between social conditions and health, and co-operate with outside agencies for the purpose.

In the U.S.A., medical social service divides itself into two parts. Firstly, there is the service to patients by securing information about their personality and environment which may affect diagnosis and treatment ; by analysing all the evidence in the light of the knowledge available in order to make a social analysis by defining obstacles to effective medical treatment, social causes of physical disability and available social and economic causes such as relationship with employer and family ; determining upon a plan of social treatment in co-operation with the case, with constant alertness for new evidence which may modify diagnosis or treatment, medical or social. Secondly, there is the service to patients through certain administrative duties, which may be sub-divided into duties regarding admission and clinic management. As regards the first, ward patients often require immediate social service such as getting into touch with relatives and friends and providing for the emergency in their homes. The Social Worker must further make sure that the patient understands the conditions of admission to the institution. He must secure information which may contribute to the treatment of the case and fulfil the administrative requirements in regard to assignment of patients and their eligibility. So far as clinic management is concerned, he must route the patient through the clinic

and through the various procedures recommended; he must interview each patient to see that he understands the plan of treatment, carry on the administration of an appointment system to promote regular attendance of the patient as directed by the physician, supervise the transfer of patients to other departments or hospitals, etc., etc.

Medical social service is based on the assumption that the inter-relationships between illness and social problems are many. There is a social implication in every disease. To give just one instance, a man suffering from T. B. may have to postpone marriage and on the other hand, an individual whose social living conditions are adverse may contract T. B. Illness of one member of a family affects everyone else, depending upon which member is affected and becoming especially acute if it is the earning member. Miss Jane Thornton in "The Social Component in Medical Care" has divided the possible social factors associated with individual problems of ill-health into adverse factors affecting subsistence, such as inadequate physical protection, inadequate economic protection and faulty personal habits; and into factors bringing about dissatisfaction due to lack of family group life, incompatibility with associates, unsatisfactory work, absence of recreation and so on.

Miss Thornton and Dr. Khanth carried out an investigation in 1931 on 100 consecutive patients admitted to medical wards in the Presbyterian Hospital, New York City. Their conclusion was as follows:—

In 20 patients, no adverse social factors were discernible.

In 9, adverse social factors were discovered which could not be handled by the patient or his family.

In 65, social factors affected health unfavourably.

In 3, it was doubtful if such factors affected them unfavourably.

In 3, no information was available.

In 1938 a similar investigation was made by Robinson on 174 unselected patients in John Hopkins Hospital. His conclusion was that many patients had more than one adverse social condition to contend with, as is shown in the following table:—

No. of Patients	No. of Factors
34	0
42	1
39	2
15	4
9	5
2	6
1	7

Ordinarily, social factors which bear directly on the health of the patient come under the special care of the hospital and the doctor. For factors causing distress to others by the illness of patients, the community outside the hospital is responsible, though the hospital can play its part by discovering the need. Social problems not having a direct cause and effect relationship with health conditions but being collateral with them, fall outside the aim of the hospital; yet, because they come within the medical view of the whole man, the hospital must help in tackling them by finding resources outside, whether in the patient-group or the community.

When the patient is referred by a doctor to the Social Worker, the first thing to do is to make a social case study of the patient in order to get a complete picture of the individual's physical, mental, social and economic condition. Therefore, history-taking has become very important

for social workers. There must be three differently coloured sheets for the writing of history. The first sheet, called the "face sheet," should contain data about the worker's name, the parent's name, by whom and why referred and status at time of closing. The second sheet, for medical data, should have the doctor's name, his diagnosis and prognosis, treatment and previous medical facts. The third one should be devoted to his personal history like his education, occupation, habits, personal hygiene and diet as well as facts about his family background, home conditions, financial situation, relatives, etc. After making a thorough study of the individual patient a social worker is able to find the adverse social factors which are likely to hinder his treatment as well as factors in the patient and the patient-group on which she can work. Then she makes a report to the doctor and finds out how these social factors have a bearing on the illness of the patient.

It is important for the Social Service department in the hospital to keep good records which show cause as well as effect ; what has been accomplished, what is its failure and success ; what other agencies are needed in the community, how far diseases are affected by environment, whether relief, where it is given, is adequate or not, and what the definite status of the patient is at the time the case is closed.

Hospital Social Workers have opportunities for service that are not possible to others—firstly, because sickness incapacitates the individual, secondly, because his helplessness makes him more susceptible to good influences and thirdly, because his stay in the hospital brings him under direct observation and care. A Medical Social Worker is different from other social workers in that she is a member of the medical team and the hospital. Therefore,

she must have elementary medical knowledge about the diagnosis, prognosis and treatment of ailments and diseases in addition to knowledge of social case work and of the social resources of the community.

This leads us to the question whether medical social work can be introduced in Indian hospitals. Here we need social workers more than anywhere else because while the hospitals and dispensaries utilize Western medicines and methods of treatment, the people are absolutely ignorant about them. Judging from the lack of welfare agencies, like the family welfare agency, the public welfare agency, psychiatric social clinics, etc., it would seem impossible to start such a service in India. But, on the other hand, a medical social worker in India could find unorganized resources in the community. To begin with, there is the traditional hospitality of the Indian home. Again, the joint-family system would present another unorganized resource of the community, since the social worker could leave the care of the convalescent in the hands of the relatives or in-laws. Some may say that India's first great need is to have more hospitals and dispensaries rather than medical social workers. True, but Medical Social Workers, by linking the home and the hospital, would enable even existing hospitals to serve the community more effectively and efficiently. One great handicap we have to face in India is that our physicians have not yet come to recognise the need of some one who can enlighten them on the effects of adverse social factors. This, too, could be remedied by bringing about reforms in the curriculum of medical schools and colleges.

There are seven schools in India—at Delhi, Lahore, Nagpur, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Poona—offering courses for health visitors. Instruction is given only

in regard to taking care of babies, their diet and health, home management, etc. Wider knowledge of social factors and their influence on human beings is not imparted. Work in home-visiting is done only with expectant mothers and mothers with babies. The man in the home and the older children are left out entirely. Now social workers need a higher standard of education as well as courses in sociology and social psychology. They are to be persons fit to deal equally well with men, women and children—with all sorts of individuals, whatever their status.

Let us now proceed to analyse briefly the present system in the Christian Mission Hospital at Mungeli, Bilaspore, Central Provinces, and adopt that as a basis to discover how to organize a Social Service Department suited to rural conditions. The Mission Hospital is the only rural hospital to cater to the needs of the surrounding villages. The patients come in carts, sometimes carried in baskets, "charpais" or beds if they are emergency cases, or they walk great distances over "Kachha" roads. New cases are admitted in the morning on working days and emergency cases at any time of the day or night on any day of the week. The chief factor in deciding whether they should be given place in wards or in separate rooms in the "Tapavia Line"—a line of houses—is the urgency and nature of treatment. There is a hospital kitchen which supplies food to those who are willing to eat food prepared by a non-caste woman, but actually caste prejudice is so strong that few take advantage of this. Though the hospital has 60 beds for indoor-patients, many more are admitted than the bed space allows. The out-door clinic is open for 6 days of the week and medicines are given free of charge. The number of out-door and in-door patients in 1941 was 4,384 and 1,394 respectively. As regards

hospital routine, the doctors take early morning rounds among in-door patients, from 7-9, after which they attend to the out-door clinic from 9-12. Fees for operations are based on the financial status of the individuals, the poor being charged a nominal fee of 2 annas and upwards, and the rich what they would have to pay in small town hospitals.

To be most effective, the Social Service Department in such a hospital must exist as an integral part of it, not as an affiliated agency. There should be an advisory committee composed of the executive head of the hospital, the nurses, the superintendent or sister, one or two members of the Village Panchayat, the chairman of the notified area, the principal of the Mission Primary School and the pastor of the Church to advise as to what services are needed in the community. The Social Worker would be an ex-officio member of the Committee. Location of the department should be in a quiet part of the building in order to provide privacy for interviews, since privacy is something the meaning of which the villagers do not understand and something they have never had. There would have to be a bench or two for patients, a desk and a chair for the Social Worker; some good decorations on the walls; and a bicycle or bullock cart to provide transport. The Social Worker would have to begin with the help of the two maternal Health Workers now employed, a voluntary worker to conduct the nursery school and a chaprassi. The Department would have to be financed from hospital funds, gifts and charities.

As we saw above, a Social Worker's services can be divided into services to the physician and services to the patients. She would have to enquire into the social situation of patients referred by the doctor, make a report of findings, interpret to the

doctor the patient's attitude towards his illness and what obstacles there are to treatment. Coming to her services to her patients, she would have to instruct them in matters of hygiene and cleanliness, interpret the treatment plan to them in very simple language and remove the prejudices that stand in the way of their taking advantage of the treatment offered. She would have to follow up patients with tubercular or syphilitic conditions, children operated for bladder stone to prevent possibility of recurrence, gastric ulcer cases and cataract patients. She would have to make a case study of them. Mr. Davis Junior classified the patients of the Boston out-door dispensary, after examining them on three different days, into the following groups :—

1. Patients whose social problems are acute and evident.
2. Patients whose social problems are not acute, but whose diseases are dangerous to others.
3. Patients with no acute problems of poverty, ignorance and unemployment, but whose examination at the first visit indicates a disease which means that they should return several times for treatment.
4. Patients whose treatment can be completed at the first visit.

A similar study was made to classify the patients that came to the out-door clinic at Mungeli on three different days and the findings were as follows :—

Type 1 included 51% of all new patients.

Type 2 included 11.7% of all new patients.

Type 3 included 33.3% of all new patients.

Type 4 included 4% of all new patients.

As the greater number of patients are of the type requiring case study, the Social Worker would have to go into their social history and plan their rehabilitation. She could also help in seeing that the patients pay fees according to their financial capacity.

The Social Worker can serve the community in the matter of school health supervision, treatment of trachoma and maternity and child welfare. At present the physical examination of Primary School children at Mungeli and Fosterpore is arranged by the Mission Hospital in co-operation with the Principals of the Schools. The system has been to examine children annually and to help those who come for treatment or correction. But no special effort is made to report to the parents the defects of children or to bring the children for treatment. The health supervision of school children could be transferred to the Social Service Department. Results of their physical examination should be conveyed by the Social Worker to the parents. There should be parent, teacher and Social Worker conferences. Complete records should be kept, containing, according to Williams and Brownell in "The Administration of Health and Physical Education," data about environment, disease and health, scholastic record, adjustment record, social record and health practices.

Social Workers could help in the treatment of Trachoma cases. There is in Mungeli a group of weavers (Keshtas) among whom this eye disease is rife. They need to be approached in such a manner as to induce them to come to the hospital for special surgical treatment. From December 1940 to December 1941, the total number of adults treated for eye trouble was 756, from which it will be seen that patients need to be told of hygienic measures in the care of their eyes so

that their infectious condition may not spread to others.

They could also improve the maternity health services. At present there are two full-time workers in the hospital whose business it is to visit homes and give artificial contraceptive advice to people who need it and also to distribute the necessary apparatus free of charge. The results have been that out of every 100 families supplied with contraceptive apparatus, about the state of 68.5% nothing is known, 22.6% have enjoyed the benefits of the service and the rest have failed in its use due to lack of co-operation. No wise supervision has been carried out over the two workers. If they could be relieved of the work of touring places outside Mungeli, they could be employed for better work in Mungeli itself.

In order to start a Social Service Department it is necessary to have social-minded doctors. Medical colleges must take the responsibility for training men to be social-minded. The following are some of the reforms that will have to be carried out to bring this about :

1. Medical students must have knowledge of Sociology and Psychology. The knowledge of these subjects must be demanded as a pre-requisite to medical training just like Physics, Chemistry, Biology, etc.

2. There must be a well-established social service department under a capable Social Worker in each hospital connected with the medical college.

3. Professors in medical colleges should demonstrate with the help of the Medical Social Worker, the significance of medical social inter-relationship in clinical instruction. The responsibility for starting this teaching should rest with the college and the Social Worker. Teaching should grow out of adequate practice in social case work and there must be rich and new

case material from which to draw for illustration. The method of teaching should be lectures, seminars, ward rounds, case studies and home visits. The Social Worker's contribution can be summarised into assistance to individual students in working up case studies, presentation of social data on actual cases to groups of students and interpretation and discussion of social aspects of medical care in close relationship to cases.

4. Junior medical students should be required to spend one term in the Social Service Department with an hour's lecture each week showing the significance of social factors in the lives of patients in the hospital as well as by home visits.

5. The head Social Worker must make rounds with the medical staff ; she should make a report on family history and environmental conditions and thus emphasise the importance of social findings.

6. Senior students should spend six months in rural dispensaries.

7. Travelling dispensaries should be organised and senior students should be made to serve the patients in their homes rather than in dispensaries.

8. Nurses, too, should be made to attend the Social Service Department for a week and visit the homes of the sick in order to get a vivid impression of the background of patients.

Later on, second and third year nurses should be made to attend the Social Service Department for at least two months.

In this study an attempt has been made to show what the Medical Social Worker can do in a small community. The programme may seem very elaborate in places where finances are not available ; but given enough finances and personnel, the community service could be enlarged to cover any activity that would promote the health and well-being of individuals.



# CRIME—SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS

ANJILVEL V. MATTHEW

In this the first of a series of two articles, Mr. Matthew examines how certain social conditions lead to crime more than certain other conditions. At the same time he shows how it is not the social factors by themselves, but the collusion of something within the individual with unfavourable environmental factors from outside that results in crime.

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## Part I.—Economic Factors and Crime.

Crime is a great source of waste. Millions worth of property is destroyed by criminal activity every year, in every country of any importance. Lakhs of rupees are spent on detection of crime and on bringing to book the offenders. Thousands of men are sent to prisons when their crimes are detected, and they have to be fed and housed at State cost. It is true that the prisoners are made to do some work, but the output of their work is far from adequate when we take into account the number of people who are supposed to be working. Men and women who should have been creatively employed producing national wealth in different forms, spend their life under restraint, turning only a small portion of their efforts into actual production. Still worse is possibly the influence which crime and its consequences in penal servitude have on the life of the criminals themselves. It is a huge waste of creative human personality that we witness in prisons. Besides, the influence that the criminals and their treatment exercise indirectly over their custodians and the body politic in general should also be taken into account. Those who believe in the worth of human personality and its creative possibilities—individual and collective—cannot be indifferent to this colossal waste that goes on day after day, year after year, and generation after generation.

*No Single Causative Factor.*—In dealing with crime, we should, both from the standpoint of theoretical interest and of practical

importance, try to discover the causes of crime. It should, however, be noticed that those who place emphasis on the ability of people to use their free will on all occasions will not find any problem in the matter of the etiology of crime. The fundamental assumption of those who stress the importance of free will is that every man, woman or child is what he or she is on account of the free choice he or she has made in regard to the various phases or vicissitudes of life. A man commits a crime because he chooses to do so ; he could have desisted from the crime if he had wanted to ; and therefore his is the responsibility for the commission of the deed. This, for centuries, was the standpoint of penology in almost all countries. It held each offender, young or old, responsible for his crime, and thought that the best way of putting an end to the prevalence of crime was to punish the offender for his misdeed. The trend of thought has begun to change and to take a new direction in the matter of responsibility for crime, and naturally, leaders of thought and administrators of justice have begun to take an interest in the various factors that might have induced a person to take to criminal activities.

It should, however, be noticed, at the very outset, that crime is not caused by any single factor but by a group or constellation of them. It is like a river fed by several tributaries. The effort to find any single cause of a crime is fruitless, for though we popularly may refer to any one thing as

the cause of a criminal deed, it is the resultant of a multiplicity of causes. For instance, physical and geographical factors such as climate, nature of the soil and means of communications in a country may have something to do with the number and the nature of crimes committed in it. Some people think that in the higher latitudes of the north zone there is less crime against persons than in the lower latitudes, but that in the northern latitudes there are more crimes against property than in the south. It is very difficult, however, to arrive at an accurate statement of this kind through scientifically collected facts and figures. Even countries in the north do not all have the same geographical and social factors equally present in each one of them. There is, however, more statistical support for the view that in European countries there is a variation in the kind of crimes that occur predominantly in the summer and winter months. In the former season crimes against persons are more frequent than in other parts of the year, while in the latter there is a greater frequency of crimes involving property. This variation in the nature and number of crimes has something to do with the social habits and economic conditions of people in European countries. Statistics of the kind worked out for different parts of India would be most helpful, if available. Unfortunately, however, I have not come across attempts in India to find out whether any such relationship exists between crimes of various kinds and the different seasons of the year such as the hot months, the rainy months and the cold months (where a cold season exists).

The Italian school of criminologists thought that there was a close correlation between crime and the anatomical features of a person. The one who advocated this

theory most strongly was Lombroso. He thought that the biggest criminals were born criminals and that there were certain anatomical and physiological characteristics which marked them out from ordinary human beings. He arrived at his conclusion after measurements which he made on numerous prisoners whom he examined. He was struck by the frequent recurrence of certain characteristics such as "a small cranial capacity, a small weight of brain, a great length of arm, a retreating forehead, a protruding underjaw; a scanty beard and a thick head of hair; projecting ears and squinting eyes; a tendency to left-handedness; a lessened sensitiveness to pain but a more than doubled susceptibility to climatic, magnetic and meteorological changes."\* In this way, by putting together the anatomical and physiological abnormalities which he had noticed in thousands of persons, he constructed a specific type of man whom he called a criminal type. This made a great stir in learned circles. Many people accepted Lombroso's contention, once he could boast of having made personal notes on no fewer than 25 thousand criminals, as it was based on personal observations and anthropometrical measurements. Other investigators were surprised at the strange statements of Lombroso and made measurements of their own to check up the new contention. Among those who made measurements of this kind may be particularly mentioned a prison-doctor in England called Charles Goring. These investigators could not get the same results as Lombroso. They found that the characteristics which he pronounced to be criminal could be found in many honest men and that in many of the delinquents in whom they were traceable, they were not innate but merely the result of penury and hardship. They believed

\* See C. S. Kenny: *The Italian Theory of Crime* in "The Modern Approach to Criminal Science." —English Studies in Criminal Science Series, McMillan, 1945.

that the general run of prisoners in any prison had on the whole the same features as people outside. Several other attempts have been made by observers to arrive at a kind of correlation between physical or anatomical features and mental characteristics, but hitherto no satisfactory proof has been given to show that crime has anything to do with special anatomical characteristics. Even if there is a correlation between physical features and character, it does not follow that those who have a certain type of mental and physical traits should necessarily turn out to be criminals.

Personally, I am inclined to think that the psychological make-up of the people concerned is the most important factor in the etiology of crime, for crime is something that is concerned with the reaction of individuals (or groups of individuals) to society. As a whole, crime, in more direct words, is something that is caused by psychological factors more than by anything else. By psychological factors we understand quite a number of things such as the temperament of a person and the relative strength of the various natural propensities or instincts that work in him, the attitudes and fears and prejudices that he acquired in his early days, and the kind of ideals of character and principles of conduct that he has accepted for himself. We should also bring into this category of psychological factors the intellectual equipment of a person. To understand what led to a criminal deed or a criminal career, we should give heed to all these factors that pertain to his psyche. But in this paper I do not intend to deal with them—not because they are unimportant, but because they are so important that they should be

dealt with independently and at greater length than is possible in this paper.

*The Environment.*—Important as the psychological factors are, we cannot account for criminality by them alone. They result in crime when they come into combination with social factors. "A man of a certain constitution put in a certain environment will be a criminal," said J. B. S. Haldane.\* The same view has been put forward by Hentig, who says: "Punishable actions can be forced out of a relatively social disposition by the pressure of outside circumstances just as the healthy body can be made sick by a very evil climate or the attack of virulent bacteria. To use a metaphor, many metals have a high melting point, many a low one. We call those metals with a high melting point hard. If by means of a very high temperature we melt a hard metal, we cannot suddenly classify it as soft because it has succumbed to an exceptional temperature. It is similarly so with man's natural disposition."†

Hentig does not contend that the social environment of a person necessarily determines whether he lapses into criminal ways or not, any more than he would say that "Crime=Symptom of a defect in personal disposition." But, he rightly recognises that under certain social and economic circumstances, any man or woman or child may be tempted to ignore or set aside rules of conventional and social propriety. I am sure that there are individuals who, however sorely they may be tempted, do not take recourse to anti-social lines of conduct. While such people are ready to face and, if necessary, suffer the gravest and hardest situations, even at the risk of their lives, there are a few who go under even with slight provocations.

\* Quoted by Claude Mullins: *Crime and Psychology*, Ch. V., p. 123. Methuen, 1944, 2nd ed.

† Hans Von Hentig: *Punishment, Its Origin & Treatment*, Ch. III, p. 153, William Hodge & Co., 1937, London.

In between, there is a vast proportion of people who put up a fight against hardships and privations but give up their resistance when they feel that the course of circumstances is too hard on them. This is what criminal statistics have revealed (the first man who demonstrated that there is a natural frequency curve in regard to crime in every state or big natural group of people being a Belgian statistician Adolph Quetelet in the eighties of the last century). The level of resistance is not the same in the case of all people. The psychological build or make-up of a person and the social conditions in which he lives, together account for the failure of such people to keep to the rules and regulations of organized social life. What I propose to do in this paper is to examine how certain social conditions lead to criminality more than certain other conditions. But before proceeding I wish to say once again what I have said already, and I shall have occasion to say it again in the course of this paper, that it is not the social factors as such that lead a person to a criminal career ; it is the collusion of something within himself with unfavourable environmental factors from outside that results in crime.

*The Home Atmosphere.*—In considering the social environment we should first take the home into account. The home is a place that should give love and a sense of security as well as natural comforts to the child. In many homes, however, children do not get these most essential requisites of healthy growth. For a sense of security the child must feel himself loved ; but in some homes there is so much strict discipline and repression enforced on the child that he does not enjoy any happiness there. He has to control himself lest he should incur the displeasure and punishment of the grown-up people around him.

In some homes the situation may be the opposite, where the child tyrannises over the mother and other members of the family. The child needs to feel that he belongs to a world of order and regularity ; and where the child is able to mould his environment according to his impulses and changing whims, he fails to be sure of the world around him as a stable and well-ordered world. This leaves him with a lot of uncertainty in his own life. His perplexity is still greater in those homes where there is love and indulgence on certain occasions and strictness and repression on certain other occasions and at times when he is not in a position to understand what reactions would be created in others on account of his own actions. There are many homes in which the children are entirely neglected, especially in what are known as broken homes, from which either the father or mother, and in some cases both of them, have run away. All these social factors create uncertainty, perplexity and tension in the members of the family, especially in children ; and, as psychology tells us, these tensions and unhappy conflicts are likely to express themselves in various forms of anti-social conduct.

The sense of insecurity is experienced by the child when his material needs are not satisfied, and the homes of many children are homes of destitution and utter poverty. Cyril Burt found in a study of 200 children that over one-half of the total amount of juvenile delinquency is found in homes that are poor or very poor—belonging to an economic group that numbers only about 30% of the total population.\* Clifford Manshardt points out that 618 out of 1,195 cases or 51.7 percent of the cases that appeared before the Bombay juvenile court in 1937 were destitutes Referring to this condition of the

\* Cyril Burt: *The Young Delinquent*, Ch. III, p. 68-69.

children and the overcrowded homes they come from, a topic we shall refer to later, he says : "The continual wonder to me is not the number of children who become delinquent, but rather the number of children who, in spite of such odds, manage to keep out of trouble."\* This is a tribute which the poor deserve ; and another writer in India who has written a small book on the subject has anticipated Manshardt in paying this well-deserved tribute to the poor : "It would be a great injustice to the poor to say that poverty necessarily leads to crime. The great majority of the poor struggle bravely with adversity, and retain their honesty. This is equally true in India. The greatest poverty will be found in the villages, and yet crime is less in villages than in towns."†

The condition of poverty and destitution is something that provides a temptation for people to fall into delinquent ways though, as we have seen, the majority of the poor are able to resist it. The temptation is there for all poor people, but it is particularly strong for those who knew better times but have now fallen upon hard days. It is this deterioration in economic position, providing situations of contrast, making the people feel what conveniences and amenities of life they had and how needy and destitute they are today, which often serves as an additional temptation to adopt evil means to satisfy their present needs.

In poor homes where the parent is unable to provide for the needs of the children, the latter are expected to help in the maintenance of the family. Children go out to work and bring home their earn-

ings. In some homes the parents take from the child all his earnings and he does not have any pocket money for himself. He may hand over his earnings to his parents with apparent readiness and joy, but as a little boy he feels his privation; and in course of time he may develop a sense of animosity. "The attitude of the wage-earning child who takes the turning-over of all his earnings to his parents as a matter of course.....may lead to insubordination later on. A natural reaction from complete subjection is pushed too far by the spirit of his new associates and by the invitations of his enlarged world."‡

Children going out to work create a number of other problems. For one thing, many of them can get only what may be called blind alley occupations—such as running errands, hawking, newspaper selling, serving as part-time shop assistants or domestic servants, etc. First of all, a job of this kind cannot be a training for work that should satisfy a person as an expression of his creative manhood. It may be supposed that, after doing little odds and ends of work of this kind, boys may change their occupation and enter into skilled trades, but very few boys are able to pick up skill for any respectable kind of work after doing mere errand work for two or three years. The great mass of them fall, as was reported by an observer in 1909, "into low skilled trades or casual labour."§ Very often they finish their work in a few hours and have therefore too much leisure and freedom for themselves with almost complete lack of control from any responsible senior person. They are subject to dangers and

\* C. Manshardt: *The Delinquent Child*, Ch. III, p. 32, 1939 D. B. Taraporewala & Sons.

† O. H. B. Starte: *Reformation of Offenders in India*, Ch. I, p. 3. Bombay Government Publications, 1934.

‡ Mary E. Richmond: *Social Diagnosis*, Ch. VII, p. 155.—Russell Sage Foundation, 1923.

§ Report on Boy Labour, 1939—See Hermann Mannheim: *Social Aspects of Crime*, Ch. IX, p. 243—George Allen & Unwin, 1940.

temptations that are particularly strong for children of the "teen" years. They often gather in small groups and commit little deeds of mischief and nuisance, with the result that they fall into the hands of the police, who take them to the law court. There, for minor offences they are often fined; and, when the fines are not paid, they are committed to prison. The fault is not primarily of the kind of occupations in which they find themselves but of the economic circumstances that drove them to these occupations. Many of them have had no chance of acquiring a skilled profession—their parents were too poor, and state authorities did not care for them sufficiently well to do for them what the parents could not afford to do.

Those who have to work hard and for long hours come out tired, and such fatigued people do not have as much control over their feelings and emotions as those who are physically fresh and fit. Verrier Elwin, in mentioning the causes of crime, considers fatigue as having an important place among secondary causative factors. He quotes from Kinberg that "great exhaustion will occasionally produce actual psychosis of a confusive type. A disturbed consciousness of externals, the presence of hallucinations and delusional ideas, may then naturally enough produce criminal actions. But even in cases where fatigue does not give rise to such pronounced mental disorders it may produce a change of personality which, under circumstances, may result in criminal actions. The psychological fatigue phenomena that are especially important as crime factors are a strong feeling of dysphonia, dejection and irritability, worry, desperation and an unreflecting vague wish to escape from a

situation which seems intolerable. Any intensification of the complicated emotional condition may weaken further the automatic action control."\* Dr. Norwood East in his *Medical Aspects of Crime* says that from the study of several cases he is convinced "that physical fatigue is not uncommonly the last straw which precipitates a suicidal attempt;"† and we may add that what applies to suicide, which is aggression against the self, applies also to crime, which is aggression against others. Fatigue may arise out of hard and prolonged work, but it is not only hard work that creates the bad effect that we have mentioned. Continuous occupation with uninteresting or uncongenial work may also produce the same consequences.

*Unemployment.*—Unemployment is an important factor in the etiology of crime. An unemployed person is worried as to how he may provide his dependents and himself with the bare necessities of life. He cannot stand the sight of his wife and children going without food for days together and he takes recourse to desperate means to satisfy the most primary needs of life. We find in this country a not infrequent connection between unemployment and desertion. An unemployed man in a village often turns to industrial cities like Bombay or Ahmedabad for work. He leaves his family behind, as Clifford Manshardt, the former Director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, says with true understanding, hoping to send for them when he has become established in his new work. But the expected work is not found immediately and he begins a bondage to the money-lender which compels him to postpone indefinitely the transfer of his family to the city. "As months pass, his contacts with the village become fewer and fewer.

\* Elwin: *Maria Murder and Suicide*, Ch. XI, p. 143, Oxford University Press, 1943.

† Norwood East: *Medical Aspects of Crime*, Ch. V, p. 152

Finally, even the small money-orders which have been remitted cease, and the family tie is broken. The man leaves his last-known address and takes up his residence in another quarter of the city, often forming a loose attachment with another woman worker and even starting to rear another family. The deserted wife may stay in the village, or she may bring her children to the city in search of her husband. If she comes to the city, the chances are that the man cannot be found, and she herself is compelled to seek work to keep the family together. The children are left to fend for themselves, without parental guidance or supervision. It is only to be expected that in an appreciable number of cases the children will get into trouble, which may be of a serious enough character to bring them into conflict with the authorities." \*

When a large number of people are out of employment and cannot find for themselves and their dependents such elementary things as food, clothing and shelter, there arises the possibility of frequent acts of violence and riots. Of course the incidence of violence and mass acts of lawlessness such as riots and loot are not the same everywhere. We recall that in 1944 when several lakhs of people died of destitution in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal, there were to be seen all around them shops of sweetmeats and provisions and other marks of plenty enjoyed by their more fortunate neighbours. It was, nevertheless, a remarkable fact that the dying people hardly made any organized or violent attempts to help themselves to the things they considered as belonging to others. Hermann Mannheim studied statistical figures of unemployment and strikes in England for a few years and compared them with those of crimes ; and he says

that though in some places unemployment and strikes brought about an increase in the number of crimes there were instances where in spite of unemployment and protracted strikes there was no proportionate rise in the number of crimes. "The only conclusion," he says, "which can safely be brought from our statistical material is that unemployment as a causative factor of crimes seems to play a widely varying role in different districts. Whilst in some cases there is to be found an almost complete harmony between the fluctuations of unemployment and crime, in some others not even the slightest analogy exists." †

The peaceful behaviour of the starving and dying millions in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal, referred to above, shows that economic factors by themselves, do not account for the causation of crime. Economic motives are found in association with, and are complicated by, other motives. This is how sometimes grievous hurt and even homicide occur in disputes concerning property of no high intrinsic value. Sometimes disputes take place over a boundary line which possibly means a few square feet of land going to someone who is greedy of other peoples' land. Arguments take place and they are followed by angry and violent deeds. Sometimes people in two neighbouring villages dispute the ownership of a certain plot of ground covering a few acres. In such cases ownership of the disputed land becomes a matter of prestige for the two groups. I remember, when I was a boy, people of two villages, E and K, had a fierce struggle with each other. It so happened that the leaders of the two combating groups were related to each other by marriage—the leader of K having married the daughter of one of the leaders of E. The leader of K was violently assaulted by the E people, and many of his

\* Clifford Manshardt : *The Delinquent Child*, Ch. III, p. 40 f.

† Hermann Mannheim : *Social Aspects of Crime*, Ch. V, p. 147, George Allen & Unwin, 1940.

supporters also suffered bodily hurt. The K people had to go for judicial and other business transactions to a town called T, and as the road that led to T passed through E the former had often to walk that distance with great vigilance and circumspection. Such disputes and law-suits often cost immensely more than the value of the original property the ownership of which is disputed. In Travancore a series of law-suits and occasionally even of criminal assaults have been going on for nearly 30 years regarding a small endowment fund given to the Syrian Church by the Travancore Government about a hundred years ago. The endowment amount is only a few thousand rupees, but the contending parties have spent several lakhs to prove their respective claims to the right of using the interest accruing from it. If you consider in terms of money the value of the time and energy spent by some of the most respected leaders of the two parties of the church, I am sure it means very many more lakhs of rupees still. Examples of this kind show that it is not always the intrinsic material value of some property that counts: economic considerations are often aggravated by considerations of prestige, moral rights and revenge.

*Size of Families.*—It is generally held that there is some correlation between the size of families and the presence of crime. Even if there is, it need not in my opinion be an indication of the fact that large families are breeding grounds of criminally inclined persons. It is no doubt a fact that in all countries the larger families are found among the poor and the lower middle classes of people; but it must also be remembered that the majority of people in any country belong to this socio-economic group. Taking these two facts together, we may be able to account well enough for the prevalence of crime in greater numbers

actually, though not proportionately, in that section of the population—made up of the lower middle and poor classes—which is characterized by prolific families. It may as well be pointed out that well-behaved and law-abiding people also are found among lower, middle and poor class people in larger numbers than among the rich. The fact is that the size of families does not give any reliable indication of the strength of criminal tendencies in people. If there is more crime in prolific families, it is due to the economic hardship to which young and old members in such families are subjected. For instance, there is a lot of overcrowding in tenements belonging to the lower strata of society. Poverty leads to overcrowding. Poor people huddle together in certain localities and make them a congested area, and in each home all available space is occupied in the day time and in the night. Children do not have moving space to play about, and if they play around and make noise their parents are disturbed, who cannot do their work without encumbrance. If there is any sick person in the home, he or she does not get any quiet. At night quite a number of people sleep together in the same room—father, mother, sometimes a few relatives, grown-up children and little children—and here they often witness scenes which are not conducive to their mental poise and calm. Possibly in India with our warm climate which allows many people to sleep out in the open, the danger of over-crowded tenements is not so great as in colder countries. Cyril Burt in his investigation of delinquency in London found that there was a correlation of .77 between overcrowding in the home and juvenile delinquency. The incidence of crime in over-crowded families in some selected areas in India—whether in big cities like Bombay or Calcutta or even some of our smaller cities which too have



their slums and over-crowded quarters—is worthy of special study by workers interested in sociological research.

*Tribal Traditions.*—The influence of what may be called social heredity is seen in certain tribes in India which for generations have been addicted to the commission of special offences. Mr. O. H. B. Starte, an I. C. S. Officer who was placed in charge of the education and reformation of such tribes in the Bombay Province, mentions the traditional habits of some of them. “The Chhaparbant confined himself to the making of false coins, the Ghantichor was an adept in the stealing of bundles in the bazar and hence his name. The Phase-Pardhi or Haranshikari snared deer, it is true, but was equally prepared to snatch a goat from a herd, or to demand by blackmail grain from the threshing floor.” \* Some of these people never did any honest work for any length of time, and very few employers were ready to employ them even if they offered to work. “For centuries they have wandered from village to village living on begging, blackmail and loot. These need to have special care taken for them, and to be trained to honest labour. They are gathered together in colonies called Criminal Tribes Settlements and work is provided for them.” There are other tribes whose criminal record is not so bad as that of the people just mentioned but who still have criminal careers as tribal ideals. The framing of the Criminal Tribes Act, the establishment of Settlements under special officers, and the effort to provide work for them and education for their children have already produced results which indicate that if attention is given to their social and economic conditions, even people with a tradition of criminal tribes for generations

can be started on the path of group self-respect and honest occupations.

This fairly detailed reference to economic factors does not imply that if all people have enough to eat and good houses to live in, and adequately remunerative work to do and leisure to enjoy, all crimes would come to an end ; no, crimes will still occur even when economic conditions are satisfactory. At the same time it cannot be doubted that the number of crimes will be appreciably reduced if attention is given to a more equitable distribution of wealth. Karl Marx’s view that disparity of economic conditions is the cause of all social and political and international ills is rather a narrow view. Man does not live by bread alone, nor are all his activities motivated by an effort to be well-off in material things. We cannot expect that all conflicts in the social life of people will come to an end when there is plenty for all to eat and comfortable places for all to live in and ample leisure for all to enjoy. Conflicts have their origin not only in matters relating to economics but also—and in my opinion more primarily—in psychological factors. All the same we should admit that behind many of the conflicts that take place all around us, especially in conflicts of an anti-social nature, reference to economic conditions is conspicuously present. Long hours of work, uncertainty as to how to satisfy such legitimate needs of a growing family as food, medical care and education, fatigue through protracted or monotonous occupations, lack of common amenities of life, inability to secure care-free leisure, and the impossibility of enjoying leisure to the best advantage even when it is available—these are factors that contribute to crime, and they are all related to the economic condition of people.

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\* O. H. B. Starte : *Reformation of Offenders in India*, Ch. VI, p. 65, 2nd Edition.

# STRIKE AS A LABOUR WEAPON

BY M. VASUDEVA MOORTHY

Strikes, which constitute labour's most powerful weapon, involve serious social and economic consequences. Hence, while maintaining that they should be used only as a last resort, the author makes a plea for developing and applying social techniques based on our heritage and consistent with our vision of life.

This article is the first part of a sociological study of strikes and their significance by Dr. Moorthy who is a member of the Faculty of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

A strike, as the word implies, is an action of a group, intended to hit home the party against which it has a grievance. Sydney and Beatrice Webb opine that the term strike may have been derived from the sailors' term of "striking" the mast, thus bringing the movement to a stop. "Boycott," "hartal" and "strike" have more or less similar significance in common parlance and are understood to mean cessation, temporary may be, of co-operative relationship between the parties involved. In the field of industrial discussion a strike has a positive implication and means a concerted refusal by the employees to work, with a view to enforcing their own demands on their employers. Legally a strike is defined to be "a total or partial cessation of work by employees employed in an industry acting in combination or a concerted refusal or a refusal under a common understanding of employees to continue to work or to accept work where such cessation or refusal is in consequence of an industrial dispute in any industry."<sup>1</sup> Thus to constitute a strike there must be total or partial cessation of work by the employees or a concerted refusal of the employees to work ; and such cessation of work should be the result of an industrial dispute.

A concerted refusal to work, having entered the place of work, is technically referred to as "a stay-in strike." A "tool-down strike" is a variation of it where workers put down their instruments in the course of their employment and refuse to continue the job.

Similarly, a voluntary action of the employer to prevent his workers from working is technically described as a "lock-out." Legally a "lock-out" means "the closing of a place or part of a place of employment or the total or partial suspension of work by an employer or the total or partial refusal by an employer to continue to employ persons employed by him, where such closing, suspension, or refusal occurs in consequence of an industrial dispute and is intended for the purpose of compelling these persons or of aiding another employer in compelling persons employed by him to accept any term or condition of, or, affecting employment."<sup>2</sup> Thus a lock-out should fulfil three conditions :—

1. There should be closing of a place or part of a place of employment, etc.
2. Such closing, refusal or suspension should be the result of an industrial dispute.

1. Bombay Industrial Disputes Act. Sec. 3.

The Trade Disputes Act, 1929, which is a Central Legislative Measure, defines a strike as "a cessation of work by a body of persons employed in any trade or industry acting in combination or a concerted refusal, or a refusal under a common understanding of any number of persons who are or have been so employed to continue to work or to accept employment".

2. The Bombay Industrial Disputes Act. Sec. 3.

3. And it should be done for the purpose of enforcing any term affecting employment. (A strike is a weapon of the employees while a lock-out is a weapon of the employer.)

Both are instruments of offence and defence wielded by the parties as occasion arises and as the strength of each permits. The object of a strike is generally to obtain an industrial concession from the employers and of a lock-out is to retaliate upon the workers for any of their combined actions or to force a decision on them. The aim of each is to inflict economic injury on the other and as such the declaration of a strike or a lock-out proclaims a socio-economic conflict. In the present stage of industrial economy they are the concrete expressions of the organizational might of labour on the one hand and of capital on the other, the gravity of the conflict being always commensurate with the resources of the parties.

Though an industrial strike is a comparatively modern feature, the conflict between labour and capital is very old. In the dim past, when society was organized on a simple communistic basis, there could be no conflict either of a social or an economic kind. Society which was a small unit functioned like a well-integrated organism. There was no economic rivalry, no competition for the things of this life. Common exploitation answered to community enjoyment. It was only when privileged classes arose and became sharply distinguished from the rest of the group, that seeds of discord were sown. Society divided itself into "haves" and "have-nots." The former, unconsciously almost, made use of religion and imposed on the latter their sanctimonious illusions and created a species of chicanery by which property

was universally recognized to be legal. Religion and law stupified and hypnotized the "have-nots" and levied on them contributions of unquestioning obedience. There was thus no apprehension of a major conflict in society, peace being assured by the economic and intellectual paralysis of the poor. The poor were too poor to organize and the riches of the rich were not challenged. Moreover, the absence of agencies like the press, retarded the inter-communication of ideas with the consequence that revolutionary sentiments were slow in being kindled. Even when slavery became almost universal, both in urban and rural life, the masters felt a sense of security in the dense ignorance of the drudges. The masters whipped the workers with impunity, raped their women without raising protest and even sold them without being questioned. Today, we who are accustomed to a newer picture of civilization, wonder why the slave of those early days did not move a muscle of his body in resentment of the heinous acts of his owner. But fear of opposition or uprising seems to have gradually crept into the guilty hearts of the slave-drivers. They early took the precaution of cutting off the strength of slaves by reducing their numbers by the simple and easy method of murder. Referring to ancient Greece, J. H. Harley says : "In Sparta the Helots were periodically massacred lest they should become too powerful and arrive at anticipations of Syndicalism."<sup>3</sup> It should not be supposed that this was an invariable or a universal practice. There were perhaps a few good masters who took adequate care of their slaves. But, generally, the picture of old economy everywhere stands out against the lurid background of the dumb exploited and oppressed.

Serfdom took the place of slavery and bettered the lot of the underdog to a

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3. J. H. Harley, *Syndicalism*, p. 8.

considerable extent, though the economic and social status of groups in society became, in time, more and more emphasized. The development of commerce and overseas trade led to the consolidation of large holdings in agriculture and to the consequent release of landless workers for the rapidly growing urban labour markets. This marked the real beginning of the modern era of conflict between labour and capital. The industrial revolution which led to large-scale mechanized production and huge concentration of the working population brought into painful relief the differences between the employers and employees. The dispossessed workers who had nothing left but their labour to sell formed a growing body, and on the other side stood in full and newly acquired strength the industrial lords, complacent and opposing the workers. In the early days of the industrial era the workers had to contend against an inhuman minimum wage which meant intolerable *living conditions*, and against long hours and hard work which meant oppressive *working conditions*. Thus, difficult living and working conditions grinded the lives of workers and they had neither happiness at home nor joy at work. Their life was a perpetual transition from the roaring factories to the dark slums, and from the dark slums to the roaring factories. This happened and continued before the eyes of the capitalist employers who made a display of their leisure in boisterous enjoyment. Naturally, the poor workers attributed their misery to their employers, and looked on their luxury and callousness with jealous and defiant eyes. But they were helpless against the might of their employers. Individually, the worker could not claim his human rights from his employer, much less put forth any effective efforts for their enforcement. The State was yet the handmaid of the rich and it catered to their interests, and lost no

opportunity to cast chains round the disinherited proletariat. In England the workers formed combinations for the purpose of collective bargaining and for presenting a united front to the employers. But instantly Combination Laws were passed making such working men's organizations illegal, and employers refused to engage any one who did not relinquish his membership of the union,—a condition which was known as the “presentation of the document.” But by these actions workingmen's organizations were driven underground and the day of settling industrial differences in an amicable and constitutional manner was postponed. More or less similar has been the history, of labour relations in industry almost everywhere,—workers trying through combinations to get their “grievances” redressed at the hands of their employers and the employers resisting, with all the might at their command, the “claims” of the workers. The struggle has gone on, with the State sometimes looking on neutrally, sometimes actively supporting the employers when it suited its interests, and sometimes interfering to mollify the workers. It is not our purpose here to go into the history of industrial relations in various countries, but suffice it to say that the development of labour movements all over, in respect of claims of workers and of methods adopted to enforce these claims, have followed more or less comparable trends, and trade unionism has developed out of the necessity of workers combining against the employer's power to exploit labour.

What are labour's methods of fighting out its issues with capital? And which is the most effective of these? What are the effects on the various social groups, of the adoption by labour of one or the other of these methods of enforcing its demands? These are extremely interesting questions as

answers to them may lead to the suggestion of what attitude the society in general, and the State in particular, have to take in dealing with the resulting situations. Though a description, in historical sequence, of these methods is not possible, we may mention a few outstanding ones to which labour has, at one time or another, resorted.

*Violence.*—Violence is one of the easiest methods which suggests itself to workers during periods of industrial conflict, violence to the person and property of the employer. The head of the industrial firm concerned is usually looked upon as the employer possessing supreme authority in the management and disposal of all affairs pertaining to the firm. Hence, when there is a dispute on any point and it cannot be amicably settled, the workers not unnaturally look on the employer or his agent as the chief cause of the dead-lock, and try to remove him from their way or inflict on him some kind of injury by way of punishment or vengeance. The chief forms of it known to labour are kidnapping, assassination or beating of the employer or some other responsible person concerned. One of these methods was usually employed in the most riotous days of Chartism in England and Syndicalism in France. Even today, in our own country, threats of assassination of the employer or his agent or the jobber from anonymous quarters are not infrequent, and we have many instances of jobbers being beaten by workers for some dispute or other. In crowded industrial cities where there is some degree of public opinion and police vigilance, this form of violent exhibition is much less than in the isolated rural areas. In the land-lord-ridden Sind Province one comes across many reports from villages of masters being kidnapped, assaulted or murdered. And in many of the Indian villages the

dispute between land-lord and his workers usually develops into a feud and in most cases culminates in the murder of the former.

Murder, for whatever reason carried out, should be strongly condemned, and the killing of an employer or his agent hardly solves any problem. Indeed, it magnifies the problem a hundredfold, calling into play the worst passions on either side. It is the most primitive and savage way of settling disputes. Violence of any form irreparably harms the cause of workers, lowering their moral position even when their claims are just. Creating horror and disgust in the minds of their less truculent fellow workers, it tends to disintegrate the labour organization itself. Moreover, it brings about loss of sympathy of the public,—a loss which labour can ill-afford. Since the use of violence, whether it be assault or murder, is illegal workers have to resort to it in a covert fashion and this leads to underworld activities like secret societies, conspiracies, spying, code language, etc. Such activities have adverse effect on the health, wealth and character of the workers. When culprits are actually found out and legal proceedings instituted against them, the pain and anxiety suffered by them, their friends and families, is immense. Therefore, workers have to be advised and warned against the use of violence and its advocates looked upon as enemies of the poor man's cause.

*Sabotage.*—The arguments we have advanced against the use of violence apply also to the resort to sabotage as a weapon of offence against the employer. Sabotage is wilful destruction of, or damage to, the plant or power or material by the workers with a view to dislocate work. Workers take to sabotage when, intending to strike, they suspect that

substitutes may be found by the employer, or when they apprehend strike-breakers in their ranks, or fear that a strike may not succeed.

A well-known instance of widespread sabotage in labour history is the Dynamite Campaign embarked upon by the Structural Iron Workers' Union in the United States during the early decades of this century. Failing to make headway in their strike, the union adopted a policy of wrecking buildings and bridges in course of erection, with dynamite. "Bombs were set off in places as widely separated as New York, New Orleans, and Salt Lake City. They were made of dynamite, and attached to an alarm clock so adjusted as to cause an explosion at the hour desired."<sup>4</sup> In England and on the continent also destruction of plant and material by disgruntled workers frequently happens and constitutes a menacing industrial phenomenon. Cases of sabotage in India, though not rare, are not so numerous as in the West. The Government and the employers suppress and censor news relating to sabotage for fear that otherwise the evil might spread by sympathy and stimulate other workers to learn the technique of doing damage. Therefore, very little information of sabotage is available. In the upheaval of 1942 following the arrest of national leaders, considerable dislocation in trade, industry and transport was reported due to damage to plant, power and material all over the country. It is said that amazing technique was displayed in the work of destruction, and sabotage was suspected. To what extent labour was directly responsible for the action has yet to be investigated. Generally speaking, the idea of sabotage is foreign to the Indian mind. The worker looks upon the instruments of production as the food-giver and as such treats them with superstitious veneration. It is a

common sight to see the workers worshipping their respective implements or the plant with offerings of flowers and cocoanuts before they begin their day's work or on every festive occasion. The tools with which one works are not merely the means of his living but constitute, by constant association, the symbolic expression of his personality. Thus by the inspiration and super-imposition of sentiments, material media come to acquire spiritual significance. The student loves his books, the author the pen he uses, the peasant his plough and cattle, the fisherman his net, tackle and bark, the soldier his sword, the spinner his charkha, the artisan his own tools, and there is nothing strange that all these render homage to their respective instruments of vocational expression. On the Vijayadasami Day the Hindus worship the instruments of their work, celebrating the presence in them of the presiding deities of knowledge and wealth.

Therefore, the destruction or damage of the instruments they venerate is not generally favoured by our workers. But the spread of modern education and communist ideas are fast dissipating the superstitions of the workers and in the machines owned by the capitalists they are beginning to see the instruments of their own exploitation. Hence, sabotage as a labour offensive which, though illegal, may be increasingly used in the future is a possibility which cannot be ruled out. But while it may succeed in temporarily coercing the employer into yielding to the demands of labour, sabotage offers no permanent settlement of disputes. Indeed, by paralysing industry it is bound to bring loss to the employer as well as the employees. Moreover, while repairs of the damaged plants are being effected, groups of labourers who were originally working

4. J. A. Fitch, *The Causes of Industrial Unrest*, p. 225.

will have to be jobless, till such time as the machinery is not in order.

*Ca'Canny.*—Ca'Canny is another method known to labour of expressing its resentment against the employer. Ca'Canny means to go slow, to deliberately do a piece of work very, very slowly so that production may be proportionately less compared to the time taken. It was used in the days of the Work Fund Theory in order to give scope for the employment of more persons. As a labour offensive against the employer Ca'Canny has little chance of success, for, by further annoying the latter, it may lead to fines and dismissals, bringing disputes to a head. And it has no place where workers are employed on a piece-rate basis. Ca'Canny can never be an ultimate labour weapon, nor is it a manly one.

*Irritation Strike.*—An irritation strike means wilfully doing everything wrong. People who are on an irritation strike voluntarily produce bad material and spoil things. The object of the workers is not to leave their work making place for others, but to continue doing the job all awry. As is obvious, this method is as futile as Ca'Canny as a labour offensive and is bound to hasten disputes. Irritation strike has all the defects of Ca'Canny, in addition to the wasteful employment of labour in producing useless things. Therefore, resort to it has to be definitely discouraged.

*Strikes.*—The strike is the most important and widely used weapon in the armouries of labour. We have already defined what a strike is. The object of the strike is to bring about complete cessation of work by workers staying away from the work place. As one can see, it is perfectly legitimate for workers to combine and keep away from work. It is now recognized as a democratic principle that labour is free to sell itself or refrain from doing it, and that no one has a right to force labour

to work. Labour is theoretically its own master. Therefore, there can be nothing wrong if workers choose or determine for whatever reason, to refuse to work. In the case of day to day labourers, irregularly employed, there is no question of discipline involved when they absent themselves from work or refuse to work, individually or in a body. But when employees regularly engaged for a particular job on the basis of a civil contract, absent themselves or refuse to work without fulfilling certain obligations like giving of due notice to their employer, etc., then they become liable for breach of contract. Therefore, lightning strikes place workers in the hands of the employer to the extent of their liability arising from the breach of contract of service on their part. The Payment of Wages Act, 1936 (modified upto 1937) requires the worker to give fifteen days notice before ceasing to work and to give due notice in case of all other absences. Otherwise the employer is empowered to levy fines on the worker and deduct the monies from the worker's wages. According to the same Act, when ten or more persons absent themselves in concert without due notice, deduction may include wages for eight days of a worker in lieu of notice (as damage). It is further stated that a "stay-in-strike" may be construed as absence.

This makes the position of strikers and employers awkward, and hinders the smooth running of a strike. But the Payment of Wages Act is not the only one that touches—though indirectly—the workers' right to strike. The Trade Disputes Act, 1929, which was made permanent in 1934 and amended in 1938, makes strikes in public utility services illegal when undertaken without fourteen days notice. Due to war exigencies it was specially enacted by the Government of India under the Defence of India Rules by a publication

dated 21st August 1942, that "No person employed in any undertaking shall go on strike in connection with any trade dispute without having given to his employer, within one month before striking, not less than fourteen days' previous notice in writing of his intention to do so." The measure likewise prohibits lock-outs by employers. These enactments make lightning strikes illegal and render strikers liable to arrest and prosecution.

The objective of a strike is to present a sudden situation to the employer, a situation which he cannot easily overcome. A strike seeks to paralyse the industry without damaging the plant or any part of it. It throws a challenge to the employer to carry on the job without the co-operation of the workers on strike. As such the success of it, to a very great extent, depends on its being of the nature of a *blitzkrieg*. It must be sudden and prompt to strike home. Else the employer will have enough time to prepare for the attack and foil the fight either by decoying strikers by bribes or through strike-breakers or by recruiting substitutes from elsewhere. But it may be argued that workers employed under the rules of the firm are under the obligation to give due notice before they absent. Hence, before resorting to strike the workers are morally bound to inform the employer of their resolve. This argument appears to be sound and is now generally accepted by the workers.

Strikes are now a general feature of industrial life. Today they are sweeping in epidemic form through all countries and over all spheres of industries, transport, mines, docks, factories, municipal services, etc. The transition from war to peacetime economy has only aggravated the problem of employer-employee relations

everywhere and India is no exception. According to the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, "Prior to the winter of 1918-19, a strike was a rare occurrence in Indian industry. Strikes took place occasionally on the railways and in other branches of industry; but to the majority of industrial workers the use of the strike was probably unknown."<sup>5</sup> This is attributed to lack of leadership and organization among workers and to their passive outlook on life. The report continues to observe: "The end of the war (The Great War of 1914) saw an immediate change. There were some important strikes in the cold weather of 1918-19; they were more numerous in the following winter and in the winter of 1920-21 industrial strife became almost general in organized industry. The main cause was the realization of the potentialities of the strike in the existing situation, and this was assisted by the emergence of trade union organisers, by the education which the war had given to the masses and by a scarcity of labour arising from the expansion of industry and aggravated by the great epidemics of influenza." :—

The following table gives an idea of the extent of industrial disputes leading to strikes as also the number of workers involved and work-days lost from 1930 onwards :—

Year	No. of Disputes	Workmen Involved	Work Days Lost
1930	148	196,301	2,261,731
1931	166	203,008	2,408,123
1932	118	128,099	1,922,437
1933	146	164,938	2,168,961
1934	159	220,808	4,775,559
1935	145	114,217	973,475
1936	157	169,029	2,358,062
1937	379	647,801	8,982,795

5. P. 333.

6. Ibid.



Year	No. of Disputes	Workmen Involved	Work Days Lost
1938	399	401,075	9,198,708
1939	406	409,189	4,992,795
1940	322	452,539	7,577,288
1941	359	291,054	3,330,503
1942	654	820,495	5,293,027

A study of the table reveals that strikes, instead of decreasing, show a tendency to increase. The principal reasons for this are to be found in the rapid industrialization of the country, growing consciousness amongst workers of their rights, and development of trade union organizations. In 1926 the Government passed the Indian Trade Unions Act and this was modified in February 1943. This Act makes provision for the registration and systematization of trade unions. Registered unions are invested with legal status whereby they are treated as corporate bodies with right of perpetual succession, common seal, power to acquire and hold movable and immovable property and right to sue and liability to be sued. This has immensely helped the expansion, along constitutional and legal lines, of labour unions and strengthened their bargaining power. But the main policies of labour are yet torn by conflicting loyalties and coloured by sectional interests. The Government which has a genius for finding out political Januses is always liberal—and never more so then during the last War in employing them to bamboozle the workers into keeping up the "morale." Consequently, though the strength which labour is today able to present is not negligible, it is not as formidable as it should be, or could be, if only labour freely chose its own leaders.

Now, the strike has certain definite advantages over other labour weapons. When it is exercised within limits and after due notice, it is perfectly legitimate. It is an open and fair fight. The strike poses a knotty situation for the employer

to solve. When six thousand workers who form the dynamic labour force of a firm keep away from their work in a body the employer is least likely to recruit an adequate number of workers from elsewhere ; and he has to let the plant lie idle, paying, all the while, supplementary costs like rent, taxes, etc. Therefore, it inflicts economic losses on the employer and hits him hard. Morally, also, the strike presents several appealing features. There is something imposing in the united wills of thousands of thinking and feeling individuals, determined to achieve a common objective by simultaneously and continuously keeping away from work. The workers voluntarily accept idleness and loss of income—a sacrifice which may mean starvation to themselves and their families. They have to cling steadfastly to their cause, keep firm in their resolve and be loyal to their comrades, all against the temptations and weaknesses to which penury is hourly exposed. No force is more powerful than suffering in attracting human sympathies. And naturally the public lend their moral support to the strikers. The employer is exposed in contrast, and all his tight-fistedness and reliance on material resources appear mean. A peaceful and well-conducted strike for a right cause is akin to Satyagraha and is a spiritual force. Just as the invisible forces in Nature are more powerful than the visible, so also in the realms of human events the spiritual are mightier than the material. And whenever the two are in conflict, it appears to be in the inscrutable purpose of Nature as well as in the instincts of man to vote for the spiritual.

Though the strike has many excellent merits as a labour weapon, it is not without its defects. It gravely affects the industry, labour, government and society. We have already spoken of the dislocation caused to industry by bringing about a total cessation

of work in the factory, causing it to close down. This, in turn, means heavy losses to industry. A reference to the table on page 300-301 will show the enormous number of work-days lost due to strikes every year. Between 1930 and 1942, the annual average loss assumes the huge figure of 4,318,686 work-days which means one strike nearly every working day.<sup>7</sup> That so much of productively possible labour was for ever withdrawn constitutes an industrial as well as a social loss. The same story is being repeated year by year and quarter by quarter in almost all industries. The man-days lost due to stoppages in cotton, woollen, silk and jute mills, engineering, railways, mines and miscellaneous industries during the quarter ended 30th June 1944 was 1,331,668. Dislocation of industries and economic losses are not the only consequences of the strike. The goodwill between the employer and the employee decreased to a considerable extent. If the workers succeed in their strike, their master receives them back grudgingly and in case they fail, they return to work sullenly and with humiliation on their side. Normally, therefore, whether a strike succeeds or fails it leaves a trail of bitterness and humiliation behind.

The losses on the part of workers are not less acute. As has already been mentioned earlier, a strike may mean losing the job or at least temporary loss of employment with the inevitable consequence of lowering of income. This imposes tremendous hardships on the worker's family which even under natural conditions lives on the margin of starvation. Frequent and prolonged strikes may also impair the efficiency of the worker and blunt his interest in the job. This is particularly so if, during the period of the strike, he occupies himself in other types of work or develops interests alien to his original

employment. Persons of an imaginative character and those given to vigorous mental activity, are prone, during periods of enforced leisure, to be psychologically weaned from normal activities. Idleness is the smithy of the gods as well as the workshop of the devil, and in such hours a man may discover his genius for digging his own grave. A study of the worker's life during strikes has yet to be made and we are sure that it will not fail to reveal many significant sociological and psychological facts. We may only mention here that the purpose of the strike is to strengthen the worker and his cause; therefore, in such times, every precaution must be taken to safeguard the worker from the seductions of the gambling den, the boozing corner, the vicious wench, cheap sensations, vulgar company and the money lender. Even perpetual brooding on the wrongs of the employer—an all too common indulgence of our miserable workers—is harmful to the healthy development of human personality. The leaders should plan a well-arranged programme of activities through which the workers will retain their wholesome physical and mental fitness. In such situations the advice and services of trained social workers should be enlisted.

Another danger which is found in strikes is that they may weaken trade unions, thus breaking the strength of labour movements. The success of a strike depends on the absolute solidarity of labour. The workers on strike have to act as one will, one body, one force. Therefore, labourers who are on strike are naturally anxious to secure the loyalty of all workers and to safeguard against any fissiparous proclivities. They are usually extra watchful and deal with deserters ruthlessly. It is not possible for all persons to keep firm in their resolve

7. S. T. Edward in *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. VI, No. 1

to continue the strike in the midst of suffering. Therefore, a few might yield and go back to work. There might be others who never considered the move seriously or who did not estimate before, in proper perspective, the gravity of the situation they would be called upon to face. Also, there might be professional strike-breakers, agents of the employer and other corrupting influences, ever ready to discover and decoy the vacillating and faint-hearted ones amongst strikers. Any way, cleavage in the ranks of strikers, is always fearfully imminent. Again, if workers are disagreed on the methods of strike, or if certain sections only undertake it while others do not join, clashes inevitably occur. Workers group themselves into parties with various views, interests and inclinations, and violence and counter-violence follow. It is a common sight during strikes, that clusters of workers take their position at vantage points like the gates of the factory or place themselves at some over-looking spots or straggle about the work-place by way of reconnoitring. Jeering, shouting of slogans, and abuse are also sometimes directed against those moving for joining the job, and such manifestations are not conducive towards the maintenance of a healthy atmosphere and are ultimately bound to culminate in violence.

Peaceful picketting may also be resorted to by workers, and it can be legitimately made a constituent of strike. The purpose of picketting is to personally publish that a strike is on and to persuade others to help to strengthen and not break it. Picketing may be conducted by fasting, exhibition of posters, singing of relevant songs and by reasoning with those who do not agree with the strikers. Picketing is a difficult art and can be successfully managed only by trained and disciplined volunteers. It requires endurance, courage, eloquence, winning manners, and a spirit

of sacrifice. An unguarded word, an impatient gesture or an unfortunate attitude may precipitate a clash. Picketing usually ends in disorder and scuffle because pickets are not properly trained volunteers. And in reasoning with those who do not agree with one's point of view, restrained language, ordered logic and tact are rarely exhibited. In such cases the muscle shows itself more readily than the mind. In view of all this, we repeat that a strike more often disrupts than strengthens labour solidarity. The defect is not inherent in the strike but flows from the fact that labour has not yet mastered its technique.

The Government cannot be a mere spectator when disturbances are apprehended. It takes timely and extra precautions and the police are usually stationed at convenient places when a strike is on. For, a strike, as we have seen, is full of possibilities of danger and the State has to keep the public peace through its myrmidons of law. By its long tradition of corruptions and malpractices, the State, rightly or wrongly, is generally looked upon as the enemy of the poor and the tool of the rich. Hence, of all public servants the police are the most popularly condemned—they being the more frequently visible symbols of State authority in its worst aspect. The presence of the police, though perhaps necessary, makes the situation psychologically more inflammable. The strikers view their presence near them as an unwanted and an unwarranted interference, and a humiliating threat. Generally speaking, the police, by their poor education, low salaries and bad examples are least fitted to preserve peace. Consequently, clashes occur between the police and the workers. A strike casts a tense atmosphere in which sensational turns may be introduced at any moment. It is a realistic human drama, abounding in thrilling interludes, leading to the final

*denouement*. Therefore many spectators flock to the place of the strike to watch and be able to talk of events, a report of which people will read in the newspapers the next day. Further, the strike inspires and spreads revolutionary sentiments amongst people. Fire-brand literature has its fertile soil in such situations, and instances of arrests, lathi charges and police firings come in handy to illustrate the doctrines of the demagogues and the pamphlets of the scribes. The repressions bring the Government into disrepute. Strikes spread over wide areas, especially when they are riotously conducted, and affect the stability of the Government.

Though the public is not directly hit by the strike, it cannot remain unaffected. We have mentioned the sympathy which the public readily shows to the strikers. But strikes mean disturbed conditions and we have known instances when unwary pedestrians have been involved in awkward situations. Prolonged strikes may diminish production and create nervous markets. The price of raw material, which was being supplied to the concerns before the strike, may fall sharply on account of decline in demand, and, on the other hand, the price of manufactured goods may rise steeply due to anticipations of shortage in supply consequent to the strike. Thus a widespread and long drawn-out textile strike will lead to the lowering of prices of cotton and the raising of cloth prices. Of course, speculative dealings may alter, modify or emphasize the trends. At any rate, frequent strikes disturb the normal economy and inflict hardships on the community. Strikes in essential and public utility services directly hit the society even to the extent of causing serious annoyance and dislocation. For illustration, one has only to remember one's own experience or imagine the trouble one faces during strikes in transport or municipal services. But, what-

ever the hardships inflicted, the strike educates the public regarding the problems of industrial relations and helps imperceptibly to radicalize the social outlook.

It is now clear that a strike should be undertaken only after due consideration of all the circumstances. Since it is the most powerful and only legitimate weapon in the arsenals of labour it should not be used for cheap ends. It should be made the *pis aller* of labour offensive. Before a strike is embarked upon it is better to obtain amongst workers as much of unanimity of opinion as possible, but as regards the spirit and methods of strike there must be perfect agreement amongst the members. What is most important is that the conduct of the strike should be in the hands of disciplined and tested leaders. We suggest that during the present transition stage, trade unions should train volunteers from among their ranks in the philosophy, science and art of strike, along indigenous lines. To the Syndicalists the strike is the mainspring of the revolutionary programme. By a general, organized strike simultaneously engineered all over the world, the Syndicalists hope to paralyse and bring down the capitalists and then take over the management of industries. In the international labour organizations of today who knows whither the workers are moving? But whatever the possibilities of the Syndicalist dreams being fulfilled, we must sound a note of warning that stale repetitions of Western techniques are bound to be nugatory and noxious, particularly since the ideological environment in our country is not quite the same as elsewhere and the possibilities of developing human nature and personality are yet very rich. Due to differences in environment, historical traditions and culture patterns, the ethical sentiment in the West is not so well developed as in the East. Therefore, we should make use of our

heritage in developing and applying social techniques consistent with our Vision of Life. It is easy to brutalize the labourer by possessing him with revolutionary zeal and examples, and make him destructive of property and life, but true leadership should draw out the best elements of human nature in the worker. The Gandhian way offers fruitful fields for investigation in this regard.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### THE BLOOD FACTOR THAT KILLS BABIES

Some women are unable to produce more than one or two living children ; all their subsequent pregnancies end in either miscarriage, stillbirth or babies who turn yellow a few hours after birth and shortly die.

This mystery of medicine has recently been solved by the collaboration and foresight of several physicians in widely separated fields.

In 1938, a physician's wife entered a hospital because the baby she had carried for only six months had ceased to move. Her only previous child had been stillborn, a victim of the blood disease known as "erythroblastosis of the newborn"—a disease in which the red blood cells are abnormally destroyed. Because she was quite anaemic, two blood donors were carefully selected, and she was given a transfusion of one quart of blood. Immediately she developed a chill and gasped for breath. Instead of helping her, the transfusion had caused the red blood cells to dissolve, and she was more anaemic than ever. Four experts on blood typing were called in. Each one matched the blood again, and independently they agreed that according to present knowledge the donors were perfectly matched. In the meantime, she delivered her second child, a small infant born dead—again because of erythroblastosis. A third blood donor was carefully selected, but after only two ounces of his blood had been given by transfusion, a severe reaction occurred, and the mother herself died within an hour. Little did her physician husband know that he was more than an innocent bystander, that it was because his two babies had inherited his and not his wife's type of blood cells that

she and their babies had perished. This was before the Rh factor was discovered.

Also in 1938, a woman physician in Chicago pondered over this disease called erythroblastosis fetalis, and by pure deduction arrived at the correct explanation of why these babies die. In a scientific publication she stated that the baby must inherit some normal characteristic from its father—as normal a quality as blue eyes or brown hair. Whatever the nature of that something was, it found its way across the barrier of the placenta and entered the blood stream of the mother. Now this factor from the baby apparently was not possessed by the mother and was therefore foreign to her. Her bodily defenses mobilized to destroy it, and she produced a host of antibodies in her blood to attack this foreign substance. Some of these antibodies recrossed the placental barrier and attacked and destroyed the baby's red blood cells.

That something was not discovered until 1940, when two experts on blood typing were conducting some animal experiments. They injected some blood from rhesus monkeys into rabbits and found that the rabbits produced an anti-substance which appeared in their blood serum. This, in turn, was found to cause clumping of the red blood cells of most of the people they tested. The investigators named this substance within the red blood cell the "Rh factor," in honor of the rhesus monkey. Eighty-five per cent of the white people tested were found to possess this factor in their red blood cells and were therefore said to be Rh positive (Rh+), while the remaining 15 per cent were designated Rh negative (Rh-). Strangely enough, the Chinese, American Indians

and almost all Negroes were found to be Rh+.

A few months later, a doctor in a small town was called in consultation to see a woman who had just delivered her third baby. Because of a hemorrhage she needed a transfusion. Her husband's blood was used, and despite all precautions, a severe reaction occurred. Now it happened that the obstetrician was the same one who had seen the physician's wife die under similar circumstances two years previously, and it also happened that an expert in blood typing lived in an adjoining city and knew the men who had discovered the Rh factor. Quickly these two men got together and by special blood typing tests discovered that this patient was Rh—, while both the baby and its father were Rh+. They also discovered in the patient's blood serum the same anti-Rh substance which clumped and dissolved the Rh blood cells of monkeys—and of both the father and the baby. In the meantime, the baby's red blood cells began to dissolve, and despite a transfusion, it died when only 12 hours old. Now the story was complete! The mother was rapidly failing and needed a transfusion. Blood donors were hurriedly tested, and only those who were Rh— were used. Five transfusions were then given safely, and this woman's life was saved—by a discovery made in the laboratory only a few months before.

Probably 10,000 persons have now been typed for the Rh factor, and as the story unfolds many facts come to light. The Rh substance is a complicated protein found within the red blood cell. It is made up of perhaps a half dozen varieties or subgroups. These factors are inherited, like brown eyes, as a dominant characteristic. One cannot tell by looking at a brown-eyed man whether he is capable of producing a blue-eyed child or not, nor

can one be sure by laboratory tests whether an Rh positive man is "doubly positive" (homozygous) or "singly positive" (heterozygous). It is hoped that by the use of some recently discovered serums physicians may be able to determine this fact, because it has an important bearing on the chances which certain couples may have for producing unaffected babies.

The inheritance of the Rh factor is unrelated to the inheritance of sex, the major blood types and any other known physical characteristic. If both husband and wife are Rh—, then obviously all their children would be Rh—, and erythroblastosis should not occur. Let us suppose that an Rh— woman who has lost one baby because of erythroblastosis wishes to know what chance she may have of producing a normal child in her next pregnancy. If her husband is "doubly positive," there is little chance that her next child would escape the disease, because all her children would be Rh+. But if he should be "singly positive," the odds are even that her next baby would be Rh negative and thereby escape the disease. There have been cases of fraternal twins, for example, in which only one (the Rh— twin) survived because he was lucky enough to have missed inheriting the Rh+ substance. If it is not known what the husband's Rh inheritance may be, then the odds are about seven to three that the next baby will be Rh+ and possibly will die, and a mother must be brave to undertake these odds knowingly.

The picture is not a gloomy one, however, for these figures apply only to those mothers who have already had a baby with erythroblastosis. While about 13 per cent of all married couples of the white race have such potentialities (that is, an Rh— wife with an Rh+ husband), only one in about twenty-six of such couples, or one in two hundred of the general

population, will have this trouble. The reason for this is that the baby's blood cells may not find their way into the mother's circulation during pregnancy, and even if they do, the mother might not be easily sensitized nor produce enough of the anti-Rh substance to harm her child. Rarely indeed is she sensitized enough during her first pregnancy to affect her unborn baby, and that is why first-born babies characteristically escape the disease. But if she had an abortion, intentional or not, at any time in the past, or has been given unwittingly a transfusion of Rh+ blood, this could be sufficient to sensitize her so that she might lose her first-born child. This is a strong reason, for always determining the Rh factor before giving a transfusion to a girl who may some day have children.

Even though a woman is the one in two hundred among our white population who bears a child with erythroblastosis, the outlook is not hopeless, for by prompt transfusions of Rh negative blood (excepting the mother's own blood) over half of those infants will survive, and when they do, they are probably just as healthy as any average, normal child. In most cases, the

blood transfusion (consisting of about 2 ounces) must be given within the first few hours following birth.

Soon facilities must be provided so that the obstetrician can determine the Rh type of all his patients. By watching the blood of Rh negative women for the appearance of the anti-Rh substance he will then be forewarned, in a large percentage of cases, and will be better prepared for immediate transfusion for the baby should it be necessary. If either the Rh antibody or a related substance called the "Rh blocking antibody" should appear in the mother's blood then it is very likely that the baby will be affected to some degree, whereas if these substances do not appear at any time, the baby will probably be healthy. Unfortunately, there is no way at the present time of telling how severely the infant is being affected during pregnancy, so that the value of inducing labor before the full term is still unknown. Some day, however, a method may be discovered for desensitizing such patients, and then doctors will have the means for preventing this struggle for life which the unborn infant wages against its own mother.—USIS.

#### HOMES OF TODAY\*

This subject can be dealt with from different points of view but I shall confine myself to its sociological aspects. There is a common tendency to use the terms "HOME" and "FAMILY" as synonymous because the home is so fundamental in its influence on family life. Hence, we find it difficult to think of the home apart from the family or the family apart from the home. No doubt, it is true that single persons, widows, widowers, groups of youngmen or women living together may

have homes, even though they do not constitute families. Similarly, orphanages and homes for the aged are spoken of as homes, although the inmates do not make up families. On the other hand, there are families which have no homes, like the gypsies who live in small tents and shift periodically from place to place. Nevertheless when we speak of the home we refer to the physical setting in which the family lives and functions. The home may

\*(An abstract of a recent broadcast talk given by Dr. J. M. Kumarappa from the All India Radio Station, Bombay.)



thus be looked upon as the physical extension of the family.

Having now made the meaning of the term "HOME" clear, we may turn our attention to the question : What kind of homes do we have in India today ? India is mainly rural and some 95 per cent of the teeming millions live in villages. Naturally therefore the vast majority of our homes of today are village homes. And yet, strange as it may seem, when we think of homes we picture the homes of the rich and the well-to-do. As a matter of fact, by far the largest proportion of families belong to the poor classes and their homes, if by any stretch of imagination we can call them homes, are nothing but hovels, mud huts, cottages or tenements. Let us for a moment forget the village with its filth, squalor and unspeakable poverty, and take Bombay the City Beautiful, for an example. It is the best representative of the industrial India both from the point of view of its wealth and of its enormous trade and commerce. What of homes of today in this prosperous modern city ?

The story is too painful to narrate and yet it must be told rather briefly for lack of time. It will shock my listeners to hear that out of every 100 tenements in this fabulously wealthy city, 81 are one room tenements. While the minimum space for decent housing requires that no single room tenement should have more than 2.5 persons per room, the average number of persons per room is 4. In fact, over 95 per cent of this city's working class population is housed in such tenements with as many as 6 to 9 living in each room. That is not all. Sometimes one finds as many as four families living in the four corners of a single room. The story of other industrial cities is not any different. In Karachi almost one third of the whole working

population is crowded at the rate of 6 to 9 persons in a room, whilst in Ahmedabad 75 per cent of the working classes live in one room tenements at the rate of four or more in each room. This condition of overcrowding was true in pre-war days, and now, of course, it is even worse. This is merely one aspect of the condition of the homes of today provided for the poor of the city who minister and toil daily to keep the rich better fed, better clothed and better housed.

Can the family really function satisfactorily in the one room tenements of industrial cities, or in the mud huts and hovels of the villages ? To answer this question, it is necessary to know something of the major functions of the family. The first among them is the reproduction of legitimate offspring. Then there is the protective function. In this sphere some interesting changes are taking place in that other agencies are tending to take over these responsibilities. This is due to the fact that poor homes, while they have more children, are unable to provide adequate care and protection. The poor families cannot provide the food required for proper nutrition ; they cannot provide the kind of home adequate protection demands and they cannot afford the medical care which the hazards of our civilization make necessary. Hence an increasing share of this function, at least in the cities, is being entrusted to outside agencies.

Then there are the socialization and affectional functions. Families are expected not only to transmit the culture of the race to their children but also induct them into the patterns of behaviour which our culture prescribes. The family is a unity of interacting personalities. Hence husband-wife and parent-child relationships are important. While home training is significant with respect to simplest aspects of

socialization of very young children, family relationships are more influential in the development of personality. Finally there is the regulative function which deals more directly with the institutional aspects, that is, with the rules of behaviour.

We may now try to answer the questions : How well do our families perform their functions in the huts of the villages and the one-room tenements of our industrial cities which are the homes of today for the vast majority of our population ? Since our time is too limited to attempt to answer this question adequately, we shall briefly touch on a few points to show how poor homes limit the proper functioning of the family. Over-crowding, which is so characteristic a feature of the homes of today, especially in industrial areas, produces serious physical, mental and moral damage. Children, especially those of the pre-school age, together with adolescent youth, are the ones most threatened by such damages as a deteriorated or crowded home may cause. Infants in particular are affected seriously by poor ventilation, exposure to inclement weather conditions and dampness. Thus children run the risk of falling ill at a very early age, and consequently face the chances of greater mortality. In fact, some two million babies die every year in India, a good majority of them being from families living in poor homes. Then again through over-crowding the care of the sick is made more difficult, which further increases the death risk. The connection between tuberculosis and the quality of home has also been widely proved. On account of the poor home conditions our death rate is much higher than that of other progressive countries.

Equally disquieting are the deleterious effects of deficient home conditions upon mental health, working capacity, personality

development and morals of the adults and children in the family. It seems as if, owing to the materialistic view of public health, this important aspect of the problem, "home and health," has been unfortunately over-looked in our country. We have failed to give sufficient attention, for example, to the effect of privacy on the psychological well-being of the members of the family. Most experienced psychiatrists, criminologists, teachers and social workers agree that deficient homes often seriously affect development, particularly of the adolescent.

Despite the impossibility of directly and exactly indicating the nature and degree of the effects of housing, owing to our incomplete knowledge of the causal relationships in the field of social morals and mental hygiene, it is nevertheless indisputable that such detrimental effects do occur. They may fundamentally decrease the mental well-being and working capacity of the individual, considerably increase fatigue and irritation, spoil the possibility of sane and harmonious family relationship within the home, and directly contribute to the formation of habits and tendencies which cause family disorganization.

Further, poor and overcrowded homes can never be conducive to good family life when hundreds of thousands of adults of both sexes, boys and girls, are obliged to grow up under conditions in which no provision can be made for what are ordinarily called the decencies of life. Modesty, as that term is understood, is an impossibility for many living under such conditions. All the normal functions of life are witnessed in the daily environment. Birth, disease, cohabitation and death may all take place in the presence of the inmates in the restricted space of the single room or the hut known as the home. Is it any wonder if to socially initiated persons all

popular complaints of the decline of morals become only too superficial so long as the lack of morals caused by such homes are disregarded ?

I have pointed out very briefly how the poor home, which is the rule rather than the exception in our country, affects the family and its proper functioning. There are, no doubt, other detrimental factors, such as poverty, large families, early marriages, ignorance, etc., involved in lowering the

standards of the homes of today. Nevertheless, this is an eloquent commentary on what happens when social reforms are not duly co-ordinated. In this age of planning, we need a planned policy with regard to the family and the physical setting in which it functions. Homes of today are pathetic failures. If homes of the future are to serve successfully the vital interests of the nation, their planning must be definitely linked up with the needs of the family, its functions and its welfare.

### HEALTH CARE FOR ALL

Security is the springboard of opportunity. Without health there is no spring in the springboard.

In 1943, Senators Wagner and Murray and Congressman John Dingell joined in proposing a general revision of the Social Security law.

The bill lay dormant in the last Congress without hearings. But it provoked discussion of health insurance as never before.

So now, when just after V-J Day a revised Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill appears in Congress, it is again a general expansion of the Social Security Act but it gives health its front pages. Health insurance is not left out as it was ten years ago.

1. It would improve the basic medical facilities of this country, by aiding the establishment of hospitals and health centres, especially in rural areas.

2. It would extend preventive medicine throughout the country, by improving the existing system of federal aid to the states for state aid, local health departments, and for maternal and child health services.

3. It would assure the people's purchasing power for medical care and thus the income of doctors and hospitals, through nationwide health insurance.

4. It would promote the quality of medical service and the advancement of knowledge, through aid to medical education and research.

A sketch on the other thumbnail is also needed, in order to avoid certain misunderstandings. The bill maintains the right of patients to choose their doctor and hospitals ; of hospitals to maintain their autonomy ; of doctors to continue in private practice not as employees of government.

### What Services Would Be Provided ?

*Hospital Facilities.*— At present, hospitals are unevenly distributed in proportion to population needs. They are insufficient or absent in many parts of America. Equalization of health opportunities is called for. The bill therefore provides for federal grants and loans for hospital and health centre construction. The states would survey their hospital needs, the bill providing \$ 5,000,000 to aid

the states in making these surveys, with the assistance of the U. S. Public Health Service.

To construct new hospitals or to improve or enlarge existing hospitals in localities shown by the surveys to need the facilities, \$ 50,000,000 in federal funds are authorized to be appropriated for the first year and \$ 100,000,000 annually for nine succeeding years. Grants, or grants and loans may be made to states, and to local governments, and also to non-governmental, non-profit organizations. The grants would be on a sliding scale, according to a formula designed to help the poorer states in larger proportion. Grants may range from 25 to 50 per cent, and loans in addition up to 25 per cent of the cost of a project.

*Preventive Medicine.*—Since 1935, aid to the states has been available through the U.S. Public Health Service to extend health departments and for campaign against certain diseases. Because many parts of the country still have no local health departments with full time health officers, the bill extends the authorized federal grants from the present limit to whatever amount Congress may appropriate to match expenditures by state and local governments.

The established grants through the Children's Bureau to provide services for maternity and child health, crippled children and child welfare, are improved in similar ways.

*Education and Research.*—Grants may be made to non-profit agencies for research to advance knowledge of "the cause, prevention, mitigation or methods of diagnosis and treatment of disease and disability;" and for the education and training of research personnel.

### Nationwide Health Insurance :

The bill would make prepaid medical care by physicians and hospitals available to practically the whole population and, in addition, home nursing and dental care under certain limitations. In details this would mean:

1. Medical care by general practitioners, including all necessary services at the office, home, or hospital, and covering preventing, diagnostic and treatment services, and periodic physical examination.
2. Care by specialists, likewise at the office, home or hospital.
3. Hospitalization up to 60 days a year, with a possible maximum of 120 days a year if experience proves that the insurance fund can afford it.
4. Necessary laboratory and X-ray services, physiotherapy, special appliances and eyeglasses, when called for by a physician, or in the case of eyeglasses, on the prescription of "other legally qualified" practitioners such as optometrists.
5. Nursing care furnished in the home by a registered professional nurse, or a practical nurse who is legally qualified to give such care and is adequately supervised. This benefit may be temporarily restricted because of inadequacy of personnel.
6. Dentistry from general dental practitioners and specialists, restricted according to the availability of personnel.

### How Meet the Costs ?

All covered employed persons would pay  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of their earnings, and their employers an equal amount ; self-employed persons 3 per cent of their earnings ; all into the "Personal Health Services Account" of the National Social Insurance Trust Fund. Doctors, hospitals and laboratory services would be paid from this account. The 3 per cent of earnings which goes to physicians, hospital and laboratory services is just about the average percentage now spent for these purposes out of family incomes in this country.

The percentages are calculated on earnings up to \$ 3,600. These payments are part of the total social security contribution of 8 per cent, equally divided between employees and employers. Unemployment, disability, old age and survivors benefits, are thus financed. Self-employed persons pay a total of 5 per cent of earnings for the same coverage.

General federal taxation is also called upon, to meet certain costs : Dental and nursing services, the grants and loans for hospital construction, the grants for public health, public assistance, maternal and child health. General taxation from state and local governments, and private funds would share in the hospital and health centre construction projects, and in supporting community facilities and services as they do now. Existing state and local expenditures for physicians' or hospital care of needy persons would continue either directly or through the health insurance system, and would be supplemented under the bill by grants from general federal revenue.

If this bill were in operation, the costs of medical care would continue to be met from very much the same pocketbooks as at present. The great bulk of the population would pay regularly into the national pool of funds. The payments of their

employers would in most cases be reflected ultimately in the prices of their products and would come out of the pocketbooks of consumers—that is, everybody.

### Administration :

Prevention and cure are brought together. The Surgeon-General of the U.S. Public Health Service retains his present responsibility for preventive work and is named administrator of the health insurance program, responsible under our present governmental organization to the Federal Security Administrator and guided by advisory councils. He would work with state and local agencies, and is to use the states as administrative agencies if they will undertake the job. In every local area advisory committees would be set up, including members of professional groups and of the public. For health insurance the "National Advisory Medical Policy Council" would include persons drawn both from the professions which furnish and from the lay groups which receive and pay for services. "Special advisory, technical, regional or local committees or commissions" are authorized to be set up as required. The council would have the right to initiate meetings and its recommendations must be included in the Surgeon General's annual report to Congress.

If this bill became law, Mr. Tom Brown and his family could carry on with the same doctor they have now, or could pick any doctor they wished who was willing to accept them as patients. Mr. Brown could go to any hospital he selected if the doctor treating him had staff privileges there. In other words, the medical care of the Browns would go on just about as at present, with one big difference—there would be only personal relations between the Browns and their doctor. There would be no financial relations. The doctors would be paid from the health insurance fund.—M. M. Davis in USIS.

## AMENITIES FOR LABOUR IN MINES

Two new Regulations, which have recently received the assent of His Exalted Highness, will go a great way towards improving the lot of the Mines labour within the State. One is the Hyderabad Mines Maternity Benefit Regulation, under which women workers, who have been in continuous service in the Collieries for six months, will be entitled to receive maternity benefit; and the second is the Hyderabad Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Regulation which provides for the levy of an excise duty on all coal and soft coke despatched from the collieries. The proceeds of this duty will be utilised for providing medical aid, water supply and educational facilities for the workers, and

for improving their standard of living. Government have also appointed a Labour Welfare Officer who is responsible for bringing to the notice of Government all matters connected with the conditions of work at the Mines and for ensuring that their legitimate grievances are redressed. The Company also has since January 1944 increased the dearness allowance to 50 per cent. of their wages and arranged to sell rice at  $4\frac{3}{4}$  seers and jowar at 8 seers per rupee. Cloth and cigarettes are sold to them at cheap rates, free quarters are provided and free medical aid is given in an up-to-date hospital. The 1st and 16th of every month have been declared as playdays for the workers.—*Hyderabad Information—November 1944.*

## CONDITIONS OF WORK IN MINES IN INDIA

The latest report on the application of the Indian Mines Act, 1923, covering the year ending December 1942, provides the following information concerning workers in the mines.

During 1942, the daily average number of persons working in and about the mines

regulated by the Indian Mines Act was 357,646, as compared with 347,937 in the previous year. The distribution of men and women workers on work under ground, in open workings and on the surface in 1941 and 1942 was as follows :—

Workplace	Men		Women	
	1941	1942	1941	1942
Underground ...	165,356	162,059	...	...
Open workings ...	55,635	61,030	32,776	37,053
Surface ...	64,836	66,212	29,334	31,292
Total...	285,827	289,301	62,110	68,345

The daily average number of persons employed in coal mines in 1942 was 215,086 (including 31,614 women), as against 218,280 in 1941. The number of persons employed in metalliferous (including mica, stone, clay, and salt) mines in 1942 was 142,560 (105,829 men and 36,731 women), as against 129,657 in 1941.

*Accidents and Safety Measures.*—There were 287 fatal accidents in 1942, or 27 more than in 1941 and 38 more than the average number in the preceding five years. Of the fatal accidents, 233 were caused by misadventure ; 20 by the fault of the deceased ; 5 by the fault of fellow workmen ; 22 by the fault of subordinate officials ; and 7 by the fault of the management. In addition to the fatal accidents, there were 1,454 serious accidents involving injuries to 1,484 persons, as compared with 1,457 serious accidents involving injuries to 1,489 persons in the previous year.

*Mining Inspection.*—During 1942, 1,102 mines were inspected, many of them several times, and 3,669 separate inspections were made. Forty two prosecutions involving 78 persons were launched ; 39 of the persons prosecuted were convicted ; the cases against 9 persons were withdrawn or dropped ; 1 person absconded ; 9 persons were acquitted ; and cases against 20 persons were pending at the end of the year.

#### MATERNITY PROTECTION IN HYDERABAD

The Hyderabad Mines Maternity Benefit Regulation, 1944, issued by the Government of Hyderabad State, has received the assent of the Nizam. The Regulation entitles women workers who have been in continuous service in collieries for six months to receive maternity benefit. —*International Labour Review*—October 1945.

#### AID AND ADVICE IN CHILD CARE PROVIDED FOR U. S. WOMEN

Since the middle of the 19th century the federal and local governments of the United States have assumed increasing responsibility for the health and care of infants, recognizing that the health of every individual depends largely on the type of care which he receives during his first months of life. Among the effective measures now in force to guard infant health are those requiring birth registration, the extension and improvement of maternal and child health services of state health agencies, the production and distribution of diphtheria anti-toxin, and the dropping of 1 per cent silver nitrate solution into the eyes of new born babies to prevent gonorrhoea opthalmia—a blindness caused by venereal infection.

Public health services provide free care for mother and child in hospitals,

clinics and through public health nursing, so that there is virtually no woman in the country who cannot avail herself of competent medical services before, during and after childbirth. Education is an important factor in this campaign for healthy babies, and therefore doctors and visiting nurses instruct mothers in the necessity for keeping the baby's surroundings sanitary, in the proper methods of bathing and feeding infants and of protecting them from infection. In many communities young girls are taught infant care, first by practising with dolls and then by administering to young brothers and sisters under the supervision of an instructor.

*Prenatal Care.*—Both the baby's well-being and that of the mother is greatly affected by the state of the mother's health before the birth. For this reason expectant

mothers are urged to consult a physician or public health nurse once a month through the sixth month of pregnancy, once every two weeks in the seventh and eight months, and once every week or ten days during the last month. These examinations not only provide a check on the mother's health and diet, but prepare her for any unusual difficulties which may develop in labour.

If she intends to have her baby at home the doctor or visiting nurse makes sure that she has adequate supplies on hand ; and should it be impossible for her to secure the services of a doctor or midwife for her delivery, the nurse teaches a relative or neighbour how to deliver the child. Nevertheless, increasing numbers of American women prefer to have their children in hospitals where they are certain of facilities for dealing with emergencies and for saving the lives of prematurely-born infants.

Milk is the baby's principal food, and he should be breast fed when this is physically possible. If he is bottle-fed the mother exercises the greatest care in preparation of his milk, boiling or pasturizing it to destroy the germs of tuberculosis, scarlet fever, septic throat and other child diseases which are frequently carried by raw milk. To pasturize milk at home (boiling alters the flavour) the mother heats it over a flame to 155 degrees Fahrenheit, stirring constantly, then places the vessel in cold water immediately and continues stirring until cool. This process renders milk disease-free.

But it is also necessary that utensils which come in contact with the milk after it has been boiled or pasturized be sterilized just before each using to prevent their reinfesting the milk. The usual home method is to scrub the inside of each bottle with soap, water and a bottle brush, cleanse other utensils in the same way, rinse, and place them all in a kettle. Fill the

kettle with water and set it over a flame until it has boiled for at least five minutes. If the kettle has a tight cover the articles can be sterilized by using only a few inches of water and steaming the utensils—which requires less time than bringing a large quantity of water to boil.

*Safeguards to Health.*—Mothers are brought to realize that their babies are particularly susceptible to filth-bred diseases because they have not yet built up the immunity which is acquired after years of exposure to disease, and that therefore babies must be kept clean. The mother is also taught to protect her child from fly and mosquito-borne diseases by screening doors and windows and keeping foods and garbage covered ; to guard him against respiratory infections which might cost his life by protecting him from contact with the breath of others. When she herself has a cold she masks her mouth and nose when she approaches the baby. If this is her first child the clinic or visiting nurse instructs her to keep his body temperature constant, to guard him from drafts, and teaches her how to give him his daily bath which should be given in lukewarm water about 100 degrees Fahrenheit. They also urge her to launder the infant's clothes frequently and to wash his diapers after each wearing.

When the baby is six weeks old he is examined by a doctor or visiting nurse, and thereafter he should be examined once a month until he is a year old. The doctor or nurse checks his weight and growth, advises the mother on changes in his diet and endeavors to detect and correct any abnormalities in his development. When he reaches the proper age he is inoculated against typhoid, smallpox, whooping cough and diphtheria. These measures, intelligently followed, go far toward assuring the nation of strong, healthy babies—USIS.



## TATA INSTITUTE NEWS

*The Institute welcomes an old Alumnus.*—On his recent return from a study-tour in the United Kingdom, Mr. E. J. S. Ram ('38) was entertained at a tea-party by the faculty and students of the Institute on the 30th January, 1946. Mr. Ram was one of the first batch of students to graduate from the Institute. Soon after his graduation, he was appointed Labour Welfare Officer of the Government of Bombay. Under the Congress Ministry the welfare of labour received special attention, and Mr. Ram was responsible for organizing some 30 welfare centres in the different industrial areas of the province.

In well-deserved recognition of his services, Mr. Ram was deputed by the Bombay Government under the Government of India Scheme to study for a period of six months under the Ministry of Labour in England. Mr. Ram narrated his interesting experiences of the tour on the occasion of the tea-party and enlightened the gathering on the condition of State Social Services in Great Britain. An enthusiastic discussion in the form of questions and answers, in which all present participated, added further interest to the occasion. We hope that the Government of Bombay will provide Mr. Ram ample scope to put the experiences he has gained to good use in improving and promoting the welfare of labour.

*A Farewell Party.*—On the eve of their departure to America for advanced studies, Dr. M. V. Moorthy and Dr. (Miss) Banerji were given a farewell party by the faculty and students of the Institute. While in America, Dr. Moorthy will specialize in Industrial Relations and Dr. Banerji in Medical Social Work. Presiding over the occasion, Dr. Kumarappa explained in his speech that Drs. Moorthy and Banerji were proceeding to America so that they might equip themselves better and aid the Institute in carrying out its programme of

expansion. He went on to point out that they were only among the first few of the students and members of the faculty who would be given the opportunity to study in foreign countries and to learn new methods and new techniques that could, with benefit, be applied to conditions in India. Doubtless they would be missed by both the faculty and the students, but this temporary disadvantage would be more than offset by the invaluable experience they would gain in that land of opportunity across the Atlantic.

Following Dr. Kumarappa, Dr. Mehta, Mr. M. M. Joshi ('44) Mr. Panakal ('46) and Mr. Nair ('47) made speeches bidding farewell to Drs. Moorthy and Banerji, expressing the conviction that they would do credit to the Institute to which they belonged and wishing them a *bon voyage*. Suitable speeches by both the guests expressing their deep gratitude to the speakers for their kind words and wishes terminated the pleasant function.

*Congratulations.*—Mr. Meher Nanavati ('45) was married to Miss Shroff, B.Com., on the 11th January, 1946, in Bombay. The ceremony was attended by several members of the student body and the staff of the Institute. We wish the wedded couple a long and happy married life.

*Condolence.*—We deeply sympathise with Miss S. Sud, a senior student of our Institute, who lost her beloved father, Mr. Shaligram Sud, on the 17th of January, 1946. May the soul of the deceased rest in peace ! And may the Almighty give Miss Sud courage to bear her irreparable loss with fortitude !

## ALUMNI CHRONICLE

Mr. B. Chatterjee ('45) has gone to the Dhrargadhra State, Kathiawar, to carry out a socio-economic survey of the villages as the State authorities are planning on

putting through a scheme of village reconstruction. We wish Mr. Chatterjee the best of success in the work he has undertaken.

Mr. S. T. Edward ('38), formerly a Labour Officer in the H.M.I. Dockyard, is now the Chief Personnel Officer of the Associated Cement Co., Ltd. We understand the Company is interested in putting through an elaborate welfare programme in all of its branch offices in the various parts of the country. Mr. Edward is entrusted with the responsibility of organizing this programme. We wish him every success in this new field of work.

Mr. A. B. Joglekar ('44), has again joined the Childrens' Aid Society, Bombay, as Probation Officer, after working for a few months as the Assistant Labour Welfare Officer in the H. M. I. Dockyard, Bombay.

Mr. S. P. Joshi ('44), who was Public Relations Officer of Dahanukar and Co., Ltd., Bombay, has for some time been keen on becoming a Labour Officer. We are happy that he has now joined the Swastik Oil Mills, Bombay, in that capacity.

Mr. T. D. Mahajan ('42), who was requisitioned for war services as Extra Assistant Technical Recruiting Officer, Bombay area, reverted to his former position in the Backward Class Office a few months ago; he has now been appointed Assistant Manager, Employment Exchange, Department of Labour, Government of India. As Recruiting Officer, it was his duty to find men for the army. Now it will be his duty to find employment for the demobilized men.

Mr. G. Mekhree ('38), who was the successful Welfare Supervisor in the Indian Institute Reinforcement Camp (India Wing), Colaba, accepted a few months ago the post of the Labour Officer of the Government of India Presses, New Delhi.

Mr. Shaikh ('45), has replaced Mr. Mekhree at the Indian Institute Reinforcement Camp (India Wing), Colaba, as the Welfare Supervisor.

Mr. Sher Singh ('40), has resigned his job in the District After-Care Association, Bombay, to start his own business.

Mr. R. Velayadhan ('40), is working as Information Officer in the Department of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, and is at present posted at Madras.

Mr. P. Bhaskaran ('45), has recently been appointed to the post of Inspector of Factories, in the Labour Department, Government of Cochin.

#### OUR ALUMNI OVERSEAS

Last October Mr. D. V. Kulkarni ('38), who is the Superintendent of the Yerwada Industrial School, Poona, left for the United States of America on study leave. He has joined the New York School of Social Work on a fellowship secured for him by the Director. He hopes to be in America for a year. During this period he will not only specialize in institutions for children but will visit most of the important social service institutions, private and public, in New York State as well as in the neighbouring states. Mr. Kulkarni is staying at the International House, 500, Riverside Drive, New York City. We hope his experiences will be beneficial to him and to the cause he represents.

Dr. Miss Banerjee left Bombay on the 2nd February for Calcutta. She sailed for the United States by S. S. "The Orient" on the 5th February. She hopes to join the Spring Term of the University of Chicago. We wish Miss Banerjee a successful career at the University and a safe return home.

Dr. Moorthy sailed for the United States by s. s. "Earlham Victory" on the 1st of March, 1946. Our best wishes go with him.

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